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"It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologers, and men of science in different parts of *Asia*, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta. It will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted: and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease."

SIR WM. JONES.

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JOURNAL OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY.

PART I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. I.—1866.

Outlines of a Plea for the Arabic Element in Official Hindustani.—By
J. BEAMES, Esq., C. S.

[Received 17th April, 1865.]

It is the fashion at present to lavish a good deal of abuse on the language generally employed in our law courts in this country:

This unfortunate variety of human speech is condemned as barbarous, a medley of heterogeneous elements, a pedantic, clumsy, unintelligible jargon, and the rest. After seven years' daily experience and use of it, I venture to take up the cudgels in its behalf. I consider it as the most progressive and civilized form of the great and widespread "language of the horde." Not only is it compendious, eloquent, expressive and copious, but it is the only form in which the legitimate development of the speech of the Gangetic tribes could show itself. Those who condemn it, in a spirit of short-sighted pedantry and affectation, must, if they are prepared to abide by the logical consequences of their opinion, condemn also those languages of modern Europe, which, by virtue of following the same course as the Urdú, have succeeded in overstepping the narrow limits of their birth-places, and becoming the common property of half the world. To object to the free use in Hindustani of words derived from Arabic and Persian, is as absurd as to object to the free use of Latin and Greek derivatives in English. As a merchant, by skilful trading with borrowed capital,

may become a *millionaire*, so English by readily borrowing and making good use of its borrowed stores, has raised itself from an obscure low German patois to the most extensively used medium of communication between distant countries.

I. The parallel between English with its Teutonic and Latin elements, and Urdú with its Sanskrit and Semitic components, is no newly discovered thing. It has been used again and again, with more or less learning, to help us to deplore the iniquities of our *omla* and *mukhtárs*.

The comparison, however, cuts both ways. It may perhaps help us to find something to admire in the phraseology of a *rubakári* or the cunningly woven sentences of a pleading.

First then, of English. English is a dialect, as every one knows, of Plate-Deutsch, allied to the Hoch-Deutsch, the tongue of Göethe and Schiller, by the ties of a common descent from the early Gothic, the sister of Sanskrit. It has been brought into contact with many other forms of speech; some closely, others remotely, akin to it. Celtic of Scotland and Wales; Scandinavian of Norway and Denmark; Latin; Norman French, a blending of the two last named; early French, the Frankish struggling still against the Latin element; Latin again, barbarized by monks and lawyers; French again, from the wars of the Henries and Edwards; Spanish, from the Elizabethan wars, bringing with it a substratum of Moorish Arabic; French again, of Racine and Moliere in the days of the degraded Stuart kings, from the court of the "Grand Monarque;" Dutch with William of "glorious, pious and immortal memory;" finally a sprinkling of Turkish, Persian and Russian from our travellers, and many words from Latin which crept in in a roundabout way from time to time through our neighbours the French and Italians.

All these elements skilfully worked up, patiently pieced together, carefully incorporated into the solid English groundwork, have composed the bright, varied and harmonious mosaic of our modern mother-tongue.

There were doubtless pedants and grumblers ready to find fault at each stage of growth in English. The Saxon clod of the time of the Conqueror objected to the terms 'beef,' 'veal,' 'pork,' 'mutton,' which were then supplanting his pure English 'ox,' 'calf,' 'pig' and

‘sheep.’ Chaucer’s introduction of French words into his poems won for him the ridicule of his contemporaries. But in spite of ridicule and learned objectors, the language assimilated these foreign words and profited by the process.

The German on the other hand has absorbed very little of the Latin or other foreign elements.

It has endeavoured to meet the wants of civilization and progress by combinations of indigenous words, rather than by borrowing. In other words it has done what our purists wish the Hindustani to do. The result is known to every one. Great as are the expressiveness and power of composition of the German language, its usefulness as a practical, working, every-day speech is far below that of English or any other European language. We have only, for instance, to compare a few German words with their English equivalents to see where lies the flexibility, expression, and delicacy of sentiment.

“*Gefangenschaft*” (literally ‘catch-hold-ship’) would scarcely be felt as an advantageous change for ‘custody.’ Use might reconcile us to “*Begripship*,” but ‘custody’ means more than mere holding fast.

Vergnuegsam (‘For-enough-some’) is but a barbarous substitute for ‘contented,’ which latter gives us the idea of being contained and secure in certain limits;—while the former is a barren enunciation of merely having enough. Not to mention the unpleasantly harsh collision of consonants.

Verurtheilung, sentence. Here the English word is far the more manageable than the clumsy circumlocution of “fore-out-telling” or “parting.”

Vervollkommen. “To complete” is again better than “To fore-full-come.”

Wiederaufleben, revival, “das wiederaufleben der Gelehrsamkeit (the again-up-living of be-lore-some-hood) is rather a roundabout substitute for the neat and concise English, “the revival of learning.”

Wiederherstellungsmittel. Here is a nice morsel for throat and teeth. It looks very alarming, but only means “a restorative,” and the English word gives the meaning quite as fully as the monstrous German compound. *Wieder* = re; *herstellung* = stor (stauz) ’s; *mittel* = ative.

Zusammenberufen, to convoke.

Zurückziehen, to retract, withdraw; "withdraw" is formed from our own Teutonic stores.

The fact is that in making compound words, the English has the advantage of using the short and expressive Latin prefixes, *pro*, *re*, *con*, *per*, *in*; whereas the German, rejecting these commodious foreigners, has to fall back on the unwieldy natives; *Wieder*, *zusammen*, *zurück*, *wider*, *heraus*, &c. The result is that its compounds are of uncomfortable length, and are rather circumlocutions than direct expressions of the idea involved.

Turning now to Hindustani for Teutonic, let us put Indian as expressing the class of languages from which the old Hindi Bhashas are derived and for Latin or Romance let us put Semitic. Then the proposition I would maintain stands thus: The Hindustani language meets the requirements of civilization better by borrowing freely from Semitic sources than by forming words and compounds from Indian sources.

To borrow a metaphor from Botany, the Semitic languages are endogenous, the Indo-Germanic exogenous. The former grow by additions from within, the latter by accretions from without.

Accretions, it is evident, are limited solely by their power of adhering to the original trunk. Or perhaps it would be better to say accretions may be multiplied up to the sustaining limit of the parent stem.

Endogenous growth on the other hand is limited by the space it can squeeze out for itself in the *enciente* of the older formations. With a strong parent stem like German or Sanskrit, accretive compounds may be formed almost without limit. Sanskrit thinks nothing of a twenty-syllabled compound, and a word like 'herausbekommen' is as nothing to German organs. In Arabic, and Hebrew, on the contrary there is the triliteral root, which may be made to evolve many dozens of new words, but all within the limits of the three radical letters aided by a handful of serviles. The result is that the Semitic languages can express more in a small compass than the Indo-Germanic can. A prefixed *alif* or *mim* will often have as much power as 'con' 'pro' 're' or half a dozen Latin or Greek words strung together; thus from *nazara* to see, the simple lengthening of a vowel gives us "nâzir," a word, the technical and ordinary meaning of which, cannot be expressed in any Indo-Germanic language without a compound. *e. g.*

1. Sanskrit, *Adhyaksha*.
Upadrishtá.
Adhikári.
Avekshítá, all compounded with a preposition.
2. Greek, *Epistatés*.
3. Latin, *Inspector*.
4. German, *Aufseher*, *Inspektor*.
5. English, *Overseer*, *Inspector*.

Illustrations may be multiplied by any one who possesses a few dictionaries. To be able to express ideas of a complex nature by short and simple words is an undeniable advantage. When a language has two or more sources from which it can draw, native sources giving it only long cumbrous compounds, foreign ones giving it neat and convenient uncompounded words, it is only natural that the latter should be chosen. The Bengali, like the German, has chosen to trust to its Indian resources; and the result is a collection of ‘sesquipedalia verba’ of the most alarming description, and what is more to the purpose in these practical days, it is yielding visibly to the more progressive Hindustani.

On the score of convenience then I defend the present court language. If we look at the historical question again, we find good reason for the use of foreign words. Hindi is in its origin Sanskrit, with a substratum of Turanian elements, the extent and exact direction of whose influence has never been fully worked out. I believe it to be much greater than is usually supposed. The language thus constituted, was brought into contact with fresh Turanian influences through the Mogul invasions. In the same manner Persian, Pushtoo and Arabic were brought to bear on it. The point of contact was western Hindustan and the Punjab, but gradually the foreign influence penetrated the whole country. It must be remembered also, that along with an influx of foreign languages came an entire change in the civil and religious organization of the country. Whole provinces were converted to a religion whose most sacred duties can be expressed only in Arabic. Offices were created on the model of those in Cabul and Persia. Systems were introduced which had long flourished in Central Asia among the Mantchus and the Kirghis.

Hence a large importation of foreign words in religion, government,

arms and art, which ended in the establishment of the Urdú or camp language, a language destined advisedly for the palace, the court, the camp, the market. Its father the Hindi, its mother the Arabic, it borrows freely from both its parents.

Up to this point most men will agree with me that the free use of Arabic and Persian is defensible both on the grounds of the origin of the language as well as of convenience.

The two great accusations brought against the language, however, are ; first, that the Arabic and Persian words are used in an incorrect, garbled and distorted way, and secondly, that the language itself is unintelligible to the mass of the people. I proceed to discuss these objections a little more in detail.

II. First, then it is asserted that the use of Arabic and Persian words in the way they are employed by native officials is mere pedantry ; that the words are used in wrong senses and often utterly misapplied, that participles are used as nouns, nouns as verbs and so on.

Now this may mean either that munshi Arabic is incorrect according to the rules of grammar of the times of the Kurán ; or that it is wrong according to the usages of the modern colloquial and written Arabic.—If the former of these two theories is advanced, I meet it by a simple and positive denial of its truth. A few examples may be taken as tests.

Ashkhás. The Arabic *shakhs*, of which this is the legitimate and regular plural, means, literally separation, or the distinguishing of one thing from another ; or more strictly, the act or condition of being separate and distinct. *Shakhs* is therefore the exact equivalent of the English word “individual,” a word which is good modern English enough ; and *ashkhás*, signifying the persons or individuals concerned in a lawsuit, is therefore a more accurate word than the Hindi *log* ; which really means, “the world,” or the collected body of human beings, and is quite out of place in designating a special class or number of people.

Mudda’i, from *da’a*, he called.

(Freytag—vocavit, advocavit, provocavit,) is the regularly formed active participle of the 8th conjugation, and literally and exactly means a claimant or prosecutor ; “Arrogans vel sili vindicans rem contra aliquem ;” and is therefore a more expressive word than “bádi,”

which simply means a speaker; or “*firiya’di*” which, besides being a foreign word, means literally one who cries out, a weeper, lamenter; which a plaintiff often is not.

Mudda’á ’alayhi, literally “the complained against him,” or “he who is complained against;” being the passive participle of *mudda’i*, with the preposition and pronominal affix *’alayhi*. *Pratibádi*, “he who speaks back again” is far less comprehensive.

Hasbu’ttafsili’l’zayli, “according to the specification below” is good and grammatical Arabic, and in its Persianized form “*hasb-i tafsil zayl*” gives a neat and convenient official formula for the roundabout Hindi “*jaisá ki nichhe likhá huá hai*,” which cannot be formed into a compound adjective or otherwise manipulated.

Inkizá, “completion,” is the regular verbal noun of the seventh conjugation of the verb *kazáya* the original meaning of which, as I have elsewhere shewn, is “cutting off, finishing, defining, decreeing,” the word is used frequently in pure Arabic in the same sense.

Ba’d inkizá-i mohlat, “after the expiry of the term,” is correct enough, and almost incapable of being tersely expressed in Hindi without recourse to some half obsolete word of Sanskrit origin.

Bi muktazá; according to; in the phrase, “*bi muktazá rái ’adálat*,” “according to the opinion of the court,” the root *kazáya* in the eighth conjugation, has the sense of deciding. The expression *bi muktaza* is used in Arabic authors as the equivalent of “*secundum*” “*ad.*” I should be glad if some of our critics would express this phrase in modern Hindi in terms equally neat, and as generally intelligible.

Inkisháf; *istiswáb*; *intizám*; *ikbál*; are further instances of words which may be found in Arabic and Persian classics in the same sense as they bear in Hindustani. It is useless to multiply instances, were I to give half of the words used correctly by our Munshís I should have to write a volume, not an essay.

To turn next to words which are used by Hindustani writers in a sense different from their classical usage, also words which are not found at all in the classics; we find them tolerably numerous, and they form in fact the chief stumbling-blocks to the purists. The word “*istimzáj*” for instance is not found in good Arabic or in those Persian authors who use Arabic words. The root ‘*mazaja*’ means *he mixed*, and the noun “*mizáj*” implies ‘*mixture*’ and is used for that mixture

of feelings and passions which constitutes the temperament of a human being; in other words, his 'disposition.' *Istimzāj* is used by our Hindustani writers to signify, "wishing to know what the sentiments of a person (*mizāj*) are on a certain point," *i. e.*, asking for permission. In other words, the noun *mizāj* is taken as the root from which a sort of denominative verb in the tenth conjugation is formed *istamzāja*, and from this again a regular verbal noun *istimzāj* is formed. Now I admit that such a process is not found to exist in Arabic with regard to this verb, but such a process is found with regard to other words; and we do not know enough of the state of the various dialects of Arabic in the thirteenth century to be able to affirm that such a word may not have been used in some of them; and that it may not have been brought into India by some of the "mixed multitude," who accompanied the earlier Musalmán invaders. We have no right to suppose that those writers who, three or four centuries ago, created the Urdú tongue, borrowed their Arabic solely from the classical dialect of the Kuran. So far was the Kuran from being written in the ordinary colloquial style, that we know Muhammad himself was in the habit of pointing to it as one of his greatest miracles, and that the unapproachable purity of its diction is to the present day a subject of admiration to all the faithful. The conversazione of Hariri again, from which so many of our European scholars draw their ideas of Arabic, is a professedly pedantic work, and it is never pretended that the ordinary Arab of the period talked in such elaborate strains. We must seek for the origin of many of our modern Indo-Arabic words in the language of the lower class of which, to this day, we know next to nothing. That the language of the towns even in Muhammad's time had lost much of its early purity is shewn, *inter alia*, by the customs of the townsmen of sending their children into the desert to learn from the mouths of the Badawin the unadulterated tongue. The prophet himself is said, in this way, to have spent some years among the tribe of Saad a branch of the Kuraysh.

After the death of Muhammad the decay of the spoken language was very rapid. One of the latest and best authorities on this subject says; "Every language without a written literature tends to decay more than to development by reason of foreign influences; and the history of the Arabic exhibits an instance of decay remarkably rapid

and extraordinary in degree. An immediate consequence of the foreign conquests achieved by the Arabs under Muhammad's first four successors, was an extensive corruption of their language: for the nations that they subdued were naturally obliged to adopt, in a great measure, the speech of the conquerors, a speech which few persons have ever acquired in such a degree as to be secure from the commission of frequent errors in grammar, without learning it from infancy. These nations, therefore, and the Arabs dwelling among them, concurred in forming a simplified dialect, chiefly by neglecting to observe those inflections and grammatical rules which constitute the greatest difficulty of the classical Arabic." (Lane's Arabic Dictionary. Preface; p. vii. London, 1863.)

The inference I draw from the above remarks is, that we have no right to compare the Arabic used in modern Hindustani with the Arabic of classical writers, and to condemn it, if it does not agree with theirs. Still less have we any right to compare it with the elaborate Arabic of the grammarians. The Indo-Arabic of the present day is the legitimate descendant of the Arabic brought into India by the early conquerors, and we may safely give them credit for having spoken their own language correctly, even though that language was not precisely the same as that spoken by Muhammad and his tribesmen. When Abu Bakr raised the standard of Islam and sent out the armies of the faithful to the conquest of Syria, warriors from Yaman and Hadramaut joined his troops. These must have spoken Himyaritic dialects, differing widely from the dialects of Mecca and Medina. Bar-Hebrous, in his Syriac "History of the dynasties," speaks of the Arabs always as "Tayoye," or men of the tribe of Tai, whose dialect differed considerably, not only in the use of words, but in grammatical forms, from the literary standard of Arabic.

Moawuja's army was composed almost entirely of Syrians; and the Arab troops which conquered Persia were largely composed of the same semi-foreign element. There is thus ample ground for supposing that the form of Arabic which the conquering troops of El Islam brought with them into Persia, and which so powerfully influenced that language, was not the form which is reproduced in the Kuran and in the classical works of western and central Arabia. Here again

I confine myself to hinting at a probable source of Indo-Arabic ; to follow up these suggestions thoroughly, would require an intimate knowledge of all the forms of spoken Arabic, and would lead me too far from the present enquiry. I trust, however, that I have shewn that our Munshi Arabic should not be hastily judged by comparison with an almost foreign standard.

III. The second assertion, that the court language is unintelligible to the mass of the people, is partly true, partly false. The real fact is that the court language, being the highest and most cultivated form of Hindustani, is intelligible to the people exactly in proportion to their education. To the highly educated native it is perfectly intelligible ; to the illiterate rustic it is as Coptic or Chinese. Precisely the same may be said of any language which can boast of a literature. The literary style always will be, must be, in fact, from its very nature, above the comprehension of the masses.

Put the *Times* or the *Saturday Review* into the hands of a peasant, and see how much he will understand of it. Never was there a more absurd and unreasonable demand made of any cultivated tongue, than that it should exhibit copiousness and expressiveness, and at the same time not be above the understanding of the boor. The ideas of the Indian rustic do not soar above the petty wants and homely occupations of his every-day life, except in a few instances. When they do, he uses Persian or Arabic words to express them. His own Hindi does not help him. A considerable number of simple Arabic and Persian words enters into the vocabulary of the peasant, and they are as familiar to him as they are to the educated pleader or official. Some exist side by side with words of Sanskrit origin, and have a special sub-shade of meaning attached to them. Others stand alone, having no equivalent in the Hindi.

Of the first class are such words as *wakt*, time in general ; and *bela* or *vela*, a special time of the day ; *tarf* and *ur* or *diq* ; *makán* and *ghar* ; *rasta* and *sarak* ; *darwáza* and *dwár* ; *kitáa* and *khet* ; *ábál karná* and *jotna* ; *zamín* and *maññi* ; 'aurat and *randí* ; *sarhad* and *siwáná* ; and many others. Of the latter class, *ma'lúm*, *matlab*, *tabdíl* ; *ziyáda*, (*jásti*), *ziyádati*, *roshan*, *badma'ásh*, *súrat*, *tajvíz*, *zarúr*, *tamám*, *niháyat*, *mál*, *mawáshi*, (*maweshi*), *tarah*, *wáste*, *muáfik*, *jabr*, *zabardast*, *zulm*, *zálím*, *gharib*, *parwarish*, (*parwasti*), *jawáb*

jangal, *maidán*, *durust*, and a long list besides. Any one of these words may be heard from the mouth of the most ignorant ryot in the most secluded parts of the country, as any one who has travelled much in India knows. This large class of foreign words has almost, if not entirely, displaced the corresponding Hindi terms. If any one doubts this, let him read the following list, and judge for himself which of the two he is most familiar with in the mouths of the people—these Hindi words or their foreign equivalents :—

<i>Foreign.</i>	<i>Hindi.</i>
ma'lum.	parkâsh.
matlab.	parojan.
tabdíl.	pher.
ziyada.	adhik (aur.)
roshan.	pargaṭ.
badma'âsh.	gundâ, luchâ.
sûrat.	rûp.
tajvîz.	(no equivalent.)
zarûr.	uchit (more common in Bengali than in Hindi.)
tamám.	sárâ, sab.
niháyat.	bahut.
mál.	dhan.
mawâshi.	gorú.
tarah.	prakâr, (Bengali.)
wâste.	liye.
muáfik.	sá (as an affix.)
jawáb.	uttar.
jangal.	ban (very inadequate.)
maidán.	bâdh.
&c.	&c.

A few of these words express adequately the meaning of the corresponding Persian word, but how many of them are known to educated people? I do not here speak of the English official, who may be expected only to know the simple surface words which meet him in his every day work; but I would ask any educated native how many Hindi words he uses in his ordinary conversation with men of his own and other classes,

As I am here only outlining a defence of my side of the question, I will pass on to another argument. Hindi is not one language. It is ten or fifteen or more different dialects. The following list, taken from a work which relates the early efforts of the Serampore missionaries to introduce the Bible in his own tongue to the home of every ryot, will shew how great the diversity is.

<i>Dialect.</i>	<i>Locality.</i>
Brijbhás'há,	Agra, Muttra.
Canojia,	Cawnpore, Futtehghurh, Etawah, Bareilly, Alligurh.
Koshala,	Oudh.
Bhojpúri,	Benares, Ghazipoor, Arrah.
Hariáni,	Hariana, Hissar, Rohtak.
Bundelkhandí,	Bundelkhund.
Boghela,	Boghelkhund, (Central India.)
Harroti,	Malwah.
Oojjainee,	Ujayin.
Oodeypooree,	Udaypúr.
Márwári,	Marwar.
Jaypuri,	Jaypur.
Bikánirí,	Bikanír.
Bhattánirí,	Bhattanir.
Magara,	Behar, Patna.
Tirhutiya or	Tirhoot, Purneah.
Maithil,	Bhaugulpoor, Monghyr.

Now, I would ask those who wish us to abjure Persian and Arabic and draw from "the well of *Hindi* undefiled," which of all these dialects is to be considered as undefiled. If to the above dialects we add Marathi, Guzaratti, Sindhi, Ooch, Punjabi, Dogra, Cashmeree, Parbuttia, Moonugee, Palpa—all of which are more or less Hindi—the difficulty of selecting our standard becomes almost insurmountable; for in these various forms of Hindi not only do the vocables differ, but the very declensions and conjugations, the very root and fibre of the language. Thus for the genitive case affix, we have *ká, ke, ki*, Hindi: *dá, de, dí, diáu*, Punjábí: *cha, che, chi, chya*, Maráṭhi: *sa, se, si* &c. Sindhi, and so on. The verb *honá* to be, undergoes a wonderful variety of inflections. Not to multiply instances, it may suffice to say

that there is no such thing as a Hindi standard of speech which is at once intelligible to all classes, in all parts of Hindustan. For a common standard you are driven to the Urdu, which has selected and embalmed the purest and most widely used forms of the old Hindi. Just as in England, if we threw aside our classical English tongue with all its foreign importations, we should find ourselves in a chaos of Hampshire, Somerset, Yorkshire, Lowland Scotch and other jargons ; so would it be in India. Who that has not lived among the people understands the following words, common though they are in the mouth of the Hampshire peasant ? *to brize, to dount, fessey, to hov, kittering, mokin, rumwards, skrow, stable, tuly, wivvery, wosset, yape, to yaw*. Examples without number might be given by any one who recollects the peasant-talk of his own county in England. No one in his senses would recommend our generally adopting any of these words, good old Celtic and Saxon though they be, and yet we are asked in India to recommend and assist in a precisely similar process. The fact is that the languages of modern times have all arisen from a fusion of cognate dialects, just as most nations have been formed by coalitions of kindred tribes. By throwing aside that which was peculiar to themselves, and retaining all those words and inflections which they possessed in common, modern nations obtained a national basis of speech on which to engraft words borrowed from foreign sources ; and thus were built up English, French, Italian, Spanish, Turkish, and all the leading languages of our times. That the Gangetic tribes, by a happy coincidence, have been able to follow the same course, and, by fusing the rough Hindi dialects into one, to add thereto many expressive foreign words, is a circumstance which, far from being lamentable or a sign of decay, entitles the language so formed, to rank among progressive and civilized tongues. If the rudest of the peasantry cannot understand the cultivated language of their educated compatriots, it is not therefore advisable to despoil the language of its legitimate gains, to bring it down to the level of grihasths and gwálás. Rather let the latter be educated till they do understand. The difficulty which the peasant finds in understanding the Court language has been immensely overrated, and is only due to his imperfect education. The true remedy for the difficulty is not to be found in an insane attempt to impoverish a fine and copious language, but in making it more widely known to all classes in India.

A translation of the Chapter on Ordeals, from the Vyāvahāra Mayukha.
 —By Professor GEORGE BUHLER, *Elphinstone College, Bombay.*

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The following translation of the Mayukha's chapter on Ordeals was originally prepared by a Bombay Shāstri at the request of my learned friend, Mr. Wh. Stokes, and intended to be inserted in the reprint of Mr. Borradaile's translation of the Mayukha, which was being published under his superintendence in Madras. When I looked over the Shāstri's work, I found that it would be of no use, as his translation was frequently unintelligible, and often decidedly wrong. I therefore retranslated nearly the whole, with the assistance of Mr. Vināyak Laxman, late Hindu Law Officer of the Bombay High Court. Circumstances prevented the completion of the translation, before the printing of Mr. Borradaile's Mayukha was too far advanced to admit of its insertion.

These circumstances will explain how it happened that my attention was directed to a part of the Hindu Law, like the Ordeals, which has a purely antiquarian interest, and has become rather trite by the publication of two papers on it; one by Ali Ibrāhim Khan, *As. Res. I.*, p. 389, the other by Prof. Stenzler, *Journ. D. Morg. Ges. Vol. IX.*, as well as by the appearance of a translation of the chapter on Ordeals from the *Mitāksharā* by Mr. W. Macnaghten, (*Principles and Prec. of H. Law, Madras, 1865.*)

Here (begin) the ordeals :

They are used to decide matters which are left undecided by human evidence. They are of two kinds (1st) such, as decide (a case) immediately, and (2nd) such, as decide it after the lapse of some time.

Amongst them Brihaspati describes those of the first kind (in the following verse) :

“The scales, fire, and water, poison, fifthly consecrated water; rice grains are declared to be the sixth; hot māsha (coins) the seventh; the eighth is the ploughshare, according to the (ancient sages); the lot is recorded as the ninth.”

Yājñavalkya declares (II. 95) that the first five (of these nine ordeals) (are to be used) in (cases involving) heavy accusations only.

“ The scales, fire, water, poison and consecrated water are the ordeals (used) here (in lawsuits) for exculpation, if the plaintiff binds himself to abide by the award (*Çirshakastha* means ready,) and to suffer the punishment, which the defendant would suffer in case of defeat.

Pitâmaha (says) :

“ Let him (the judge) order the scales, etc. for those, against whom the accusation is urged with great confidence ; rice grains and consecrated water he should order in doubtful cases.”

Avashṭambha (means) confidence.

According to this passage (of Pitâmaha) consecrated water may be used when the plaintiff is full of confidence, (as well as when he is) doubtful.

In the *Kâlikâpurâṇa* (we read) :

“ In case of an accusation of adultery, of theft, of a connexion with women (the intercourse with whom is) forbidden, or of a *Mahâpâtaka* or of high treason, let an ordeal take place.

“ When there is conflicting evidence or (any other) dispute, or if a blame is attached to the plaintiff, then shall the king order the ordeal (to take place) after the plaintiff has declared himself ready to suffer the punishment (of defeat). When there are many witnesses in an action for adultery, let the defendant undergo the ordeal, in order to clear himself without any additional punishment.”

Women, the connexion with whom is forbidden (*agamyaḥ*) are others than married women ; such as common prostitutes.

‘ *Çaste* ’ means ‘ in the case of an accusation.’

‘ *Sâhasam* ’ means ‘ a crime perpetrated by violence.’

‘ *Avarṇah* ’ means ‘ blame.’

‘ *Çirah* (head) means ‘ punishment.’

The specification of the accusation by the words ‘ for adultery,’ is unnecessary, because this accusation has been already mentioned. Likewise are the words ‘ where there are many witnesses’ (unnecessary). Therefore an ordeal may take place in every action, even if witnesses be wanting. The indication of the object of the ordeal by the words “ in order to clear himself,” is proper only, (if the passage be to her) in this (sense). And it is a common saying, “ In actions for high treason and accusations of an offence which causes loss of caste (the defen-

dant) should undergo an ordeal, even if the plaintiff be not ready to undergo the punishment of defeat."

Nârada (says):

Those who are suspected by kings, those who are accused by Dasyus, and those who wish to clear themselves, shall undergo an ordeal, without (any additional) punishment (in case of defeat).

The ordeal which decides a case after (the lapse of some) time, is the oath.

Nârada has declared the different kinds of this (the latter):

"(Let (him swear) by truth, (or) let him touch (whilst swearing) a vehicle, arms, a cow, grains, or gold, or the feet of the gods, or of his father or mother; or (let him swear) by his pious gifts, and his good works; or let him touch the head of his child, of his wife or of a friend; or he may also—in case of *any* accusation,—drink consecrated water."

The oaths are declared by Manu (to be resorted to) even on very trifling occasions.

Though consecrated water decides a case only after the lapse of some time, it has been enumerated in the first (division), because it is used in great accusations (also).

Yâjnavalkya (says) (II. 96):

"According to (their) pleasure either of the two may undergo (the ordeal), and the other may take (upon himself) the punishment (in case of defeat)."

This alternative (lies) only at the pleasure of the plaintiff. If he does not wish (to undergo the ordeal), (it falls) on the defendant. Let nobody *oblige* the plaintiff to undergo the punishment.

"The ordeal should be imposed upon the accused by those who know (the rules respecting) the ordeal."

These are the words of Kâtyâyana in the Divyatattva.

Here (follow) the rules regarding the different kinds of ordeals appropriate to (different) individuals.

Yâjnavalkya says (II. 98):

"The scales (are appropriate) for women, children, old, blind, or lame persons and Brâhmans; fire or water, the seven grains of Yava or poison, for a *Çûdra*."

(The scales are for every body) without reference to sex or caste or age.

Bāla (is a person) who is younger than 16 years, of whatever caste he may be. (A person who is) older than 80 years (is called) *vridha* (old).

Here (in this passage it is meant) that the scales only are intended for a Brahman (when the ordeal takes place) at the time generally (appointed for the scales), of which (more) will be spoken (below). But (when the ordeal takes place) at the time (which is fit for the employment) of fire and the like, those (ordeals) are employed even (for a Brahman)."

Therefore Pitāmaha (says) :

"All castes can, according to the rule, be cleared by (taking) consecrated water. All the (ordeals) (can be employed in case) of every one, except poison (in the case) of a Brahman."

In the Kālikāpurāṇa (we read) :

A hot gold māsha coin should always be given to a man of the lowest caste.

Nārada (says) :

"Let (the judge) always examine eunuchs, men bereft of strength, those whose mind is violently agitated, and these three, children, old and sick people, by means of the scales. But neither poison nor water, is prescribed for women ; by means of the scales, consecrated water, etc. let him enquire into the hidden truth about them. Those who are in (bodily or mental) pain, shall not clear themselves by the water (ordeal), nor those who suffer of a disease caused by gall or poison. The (ordeal by) fire is not ordained for the leprous, the blind, those who suffer of a disease of the nails, and the like. Children and women should not be immersed (into water) by those who know the Institutes of law, nor (should this be done) to sick, old or weak men. He should (likewise) not immerge into water those who have no force, and those who have been enfeebled by sickness. When they are immersed, they always die ; for little life (is left) in them. He shall not immerge them even if they have come (to court) on account (of an accusation) of an offence perpetrated with violence. Nor shall he make them take (into their hands) hot iron, nor shall he make them clear themselves by (taking) poison.

Vishṇu (says) :

"(Let him not impose any of the abovementioned ordeals) upon those,

who suffer of a disease caused by the phlegmatic humor, or who are (otherwise) sick, or women or asthmatic persons."

Kâtyâyana (says) :

"Let him not give the ordeal by fire to smiths, nor (that by) water to those who (by their profession) have to work in water (as divers, etc.) nor by any means poison to those who know the application of charms. Let him not order a man, who is engaged on fulfilling a religious vow or who has a disease of the mouth (to undergo the ordeal) of the rice grains.

A man who is engaged on a vrata (vratin) (means) a man who performs the milk-vow and the like.

Pitâmaha (says) :

"Consecrated water should not be given by wise (men) to those who drink spirituous liquor, to adulterers, gamblers or atheists."

Nârada (says) :

"He shall avoid to give consecrated water to a man, who has committed a great crime, or who does not obey the law, an ungrateful (person), a eunuch, a despicable (person), an atheist, a man whose crimes (faults) are (generally) known.

Kâtyâyana (says) :

"But the king should not order (the abovementioned ordeal) for people, who ought not to be touched, for those of the lowest castes, for slaves, barbarians, evil-doers ; nor for those born by prâtilomya (whose mother is of a higher caste than the father).

He should order for them, at the time, the ordeals which are known (to be fit) for the (season).

Known (to be fit) for them are the scales, poison and the like (each of which is fit for some proper season.)

If the person who has to undergo the ordeal is unable (to do so,) the same (Kâtyâyana) prescribes a substitute (to be chosen for him,) in the Divyatattva.

"If there is no hindrance (for the person, who has to undergo the ordeal) as far as regards place or time, then let him undergo it, as it is proper. He can have it performed by another (person); that is the rule in the contrary case." Anyena, by another, hârayet, he may cause it to be taken, (means) he may have it performed by a substitute. Viparyaye (in the contrary case), (means) if the person who

has to undergo the ordeal is unable (to do so), let (then another person) do what is appropriate.

In the contrary case, *i. e.* when there is a certainty that the defendant formerly did commit a great crime, such as the murder of his father or other (near relations) ; or when at some other time (the defendant) was suspected of some other matter, the same (Kâtyâyana) declares (that he should perform) the ordeal through a substitute.

“(In the case) of people who have killed their father, mother, a Brahman, their spiritual teacher, an old man, a woman or a child, of such as have committed a Mahâpâtaka, and especially of atheists, those who bear the sign (of another caste than that to which they belong) of women, of those who are acquainted with the use of charms and yoga (supernatural power acquired by meditation, etc.), or of those who are born in a mixed caste, of those who live or cause others to live in a course of vice ;—in the case of such shameful accusations, a justice-loving king should by no means order (the accused to undergo) an ordeal. The ordeal ought to be undergone by good people appointed by these (the abovementioned sinners). Where there are no good men, there they should be cleared by their own people (undergoing the ordeal).” Svakaïh (by their own people) (means) by relations.

Here (follow) (the rules regarding) the time (when the several ordeals should take place).

Pitâmaha (says) :

“ Caitra (March, April) Mârgaçivas (December, January) and Vaiçâkha (April, May) are months generally (used for *all* ordeals), and they do not present obstacles to ordeals.”

The (ordeal by the) scales is ordained (to be employed) at any season, (but) one should avoid it, if the wind blows.

The (ordeal by) fire is declared (to be good) in the dewy, cold and rainy seasons, the (ordeal by) water in autumn and the hot season, that by poison in winter and dewy season.

Poison (is recommended) to be taken in the cold and dewy seasons, (but) other seasons also (at times) are included ; beacuse further on (the passage) varshe caturyavamâtrâ, etc. will be quoted.

Nârada (says) :

“ Consecrated water may be given at any season (of the year), (and) the scales (likewise) may (be employed) at any time.”

Pitāmaha (says further) :

“ The ordeal by fire must take place in the morning, and in the morning the scales (must be employed). The (ordeal by) water ought to be given in the middle of the day to those who wish (to learn) the real state of truth. But the clearing by means of consecrated water is ordered (to take place) during the first half of the day. But in the last quarter of the night should the poison be given, being cold.

These ordeals should take place on a Sunday, thus say the Çishtas, (i. e. those Brahmans who have studied the Vedas and Vedāngas and thereby have become authorities in law).

Now (follow the rules on) the place (where the ordeal ought to take place).

Pitāmaha (says) :

“ The scales must always be made to turn towards the east, unmoveable, in a pure place, near to the flag, in the hall (of justice), or in the gateway of the king's (palace), or on a crossing.”

Nârada (says) :

“ (Let it be placed) in the hall or at the door of the king's palace, in a temple or on a crossing.”

Kâtyâyana (says) :

“ Let him order those men who are accused of a Mahâpâtaka, to undergo the ordeal near the flag, those who (are accused to) have committed high treason, at the door of the king's (palace); those who are born in prâtilomya should undergo the ordeal on a crossing, and wise men know that in other cases (the ordeal should take place) in the midst of the hall (of justice).”

Nârada (says further) :

“ If ordeals are not given at the proper time and place, or undergone by people who claim to be exempted from them, they always cause in lawsuits a false result ; of that there is no doubt.”

Now (follow) the rules which are common to all ordeals :

Pitāmaha (says) :

Then let the judge, who is conversant with the religious law, invoke the gods according to the following rule ; turning towards the east and joining his hands, let him speak : “ Come, come, divine Dharma, approach this ordeal, together with the Lokapâlas (eight protectors of the world) and the crowds of Vasus, Adityas and Maruts.” But if he

has brought Dharma to the scales, he should assign to the subordinate gods their several places.

The same (Pitāmaha says further) :

“ Having placed Indra in the eastern direction, and the lord of the dead in the south, Varuṇa in the west, and Kuvera in the north, he should divide the (other) Lokapâlas, etc., Agni in the intermediate points of the horizon. Indra is yellow, Yama dark-blue, Varuṇa shines like crystal, Kuvera like gold, Agni also (glitters) like gold, and Nirṛiti is dark-blue, Vâyu dark-brown, and let Içâna be red—thus he shall meditate on them in their order. To the south of Indra a wise man should place the Vasus. These eight Vasus are declared to be Dhara, Dhruva and Soma, Apah (the waters), Anila (wind), Anala (fire), Pratyûsha (early morning), Prabhâsa. Between the lord of gods (Indra) and Içâna is the place of the Adityas. The names of these twelve Adityas are declared to be Dhâtri, Aryaman, Mitra, Varuṇa, Içā and Bhaga; Indrā, Vivasvat, and Pûshan; and as the tenth Parjanya; then Tvashṭri, then last born, though not last (in power), Vishnu. But the western side of Agni (between this god and Yama), they know to be the place of the Rudras. The Rudras are recorded to be eleven (namely), Virabhadra, Çambhu and the famous Giriça, Aja Ekapād, Ahi Budhnya, and the unconquered Pinâkin, and Bhuvanâdhîçvara, and Kapâli, Vitâmpatî, Sthânu, and the illustrious Bhava. Between the lord of the dead (Yama) and the Râxâsa (Nirṛiti) let him make the place of the mothers. (They are) Brâhmî, Maheçvarî, Kaumârî, and Vaishnavî, Vârâhî, Mahendrî, and Câmundâ, accompanied by her Ganas. They know (tell) that Ganeça's place is to the north of Nirṛiti (between him and Varuṇa).

The place of the Maruts is declared (to be) on the northern side of Varuṇa (between him and Vâyu).

The seven Mârutas are said (to be); Gaganasparçana, Vâyu, Anila, Mâruta, Prâṇa, Prâṇeça, Yiva. A wise man should bring Durgâ to the north of the scales: and they prescribe adoration to these deities, (calling each) by his name. Having given to Dharma in the proper order the (offerings), the first of which is the Arghya and the last of which consists of ornaments (in flowers, etc.), he afterwards should give to the subordinate gods the (offerings), beginning with the Arghya and ending with the (presentation of) ornaments.

(And) he should offer the adoration which begins with the (oblation of) perfumes and ends with the (oblation of the) food.

By (Brahmans) who have studied the Vedas a burnt-offering should be presented in each of the four points of the horizon. Let him offer at these offerings clarified butter, boiled rice Samidhs accompanying the act with the recital of the Sāvitrî, the Pranava (Omkâra), and the Svâha at the end."

Havi's (oblation) (means) Charu, boiled rice. The Eastern Mîmâsakas declare in the Divyatattva, that the clarified butter, the boiled rice and the sacred fuel (Samidhah) are offered conjointly, just as at the two Sâmânâya-ishtîs, because the deities, (to whom they are offered), are not opposed to each other.

That is wrong.

For (it is declared) in the Sûtra of Açvalâyana and the rest : " He cuts off two portions of âjya, he places fuel once on the boiled rice, he cuts off (portions) of the boiled rice twice from the middle and the fore-part (of the heap), and he sprinkles the rice which he has cut off (with ghee). This is the rule for cutting off."

Sruva means, (here) fuel, because it has also this meaning.

(Besides) the conjoint oblation (of the various offerings) is impossible, because (in each case) a different instrument (for completing the oblation) is prescribed (by the Sûtra) hastasya.

But in the case of the two Sâmânâya ishtîs the conjoint of oblation (of the ghee, fuel and rice) is proper, because (there) only one instrument, the juhû, is used.

The same (Pitâmaha says) :

"The accused having written the (crime) of which he is accused, on a scroll (of paper) together with the following Mantra, places that (scroll) on his forehead.

And the Mantra (is the following),

"Sun and moon, wind and fire, heaven and earth, the waters, (man's own) heart, and Yama, day and night, the two twilights and Dharma know man's actions."

Nârada (says) :

"Then the judge (who ought to be) a Brahman, who has studied the Vedas and the Vedângas, who possesses fame and a good character, who has extinguished (the passions of) his mind, who has forsaken

envy, who keeps his promises, pure, clever, rejoicing in the welfare of all creatures, who has kept a fast (on the day of the ordeal) in wet clothes, (who has bathed in his clothes), who has cleaned his teeth with water, having worshipped all the gods according to the (prescribed) rule.....

Yâjñavâlkyâ (says II. 97),

“(The judge) having called the accused who has bathed in his garments and fasted from sunrise, shall cause him to undergo the ordeals in the presence of the king and the Brahmans.”

Pitâmaha also (says) :

“Ordeals always (should be ordered) to be performed by the accused when he has fasted one or three days, who is pure, and dressed in a wet garment.”

The same (author says) :

“Surrounded by good men, the king should (order him to) perform this clearing (through an ordeal) and should (order him to) gladden the sacrificial priests, house-priests, and spiritual teachers by presents. A king who orders the ordeal to be performed in this way, after having enjoyed heart-gladdening pleasures, having obtained great fame, he becomes fit to be (united with) Brahma.

Now follows the rule on the (ordeal) of the scales.

Pitâmaha (says) :

“The king should order (his people) to construct a hall for the scales, which (is) broad, high, resplendent, where a man will not be defiled by dogs, Chândâlas or crows, possessing an instrument for (shutting) the doors, protected by watchmen, which contains (jars with) water and the like, which is well *furnished*.”

Nârada (says) :

“Let him (the king) order (scales) to be made there, of any Khâdîra wood, except Çukla Khâdîra, which must be free from clefts; Çuklavârjita (lit. except white) means except white Khâdîra wood.

“If there is no (Khâdîra) (it should be) made of Çimçapa, or (if that be wanting) of Çâla, which must be free from holes, or (it may be made of) iron-wood (arjuna), or Tindukî, or of Tiniça or red sandalwood.

Mâhava gives the following reading (of the passage arjuna—candana) : The arjuna, Tilaka, Açoka, Tiniça, (or red sandal tree) (should be used).

He should use such like woods for the scales.

Such like (evamvidhâni) means (that he may use) also others, as

Uḍumbara-wood (Indian fig-tree) and the like ; thus (says) Madana.

For this very reason,

Pitāmaha (says) :

“ Having cut (any) tree, that is fit to be used at the sacrifice, preceding the action, as in the case of the sacrificial post, with Mantras (prayers from the Veda), and having worshipped the guardians of the world, wise men should make the scales. The Mantra are addressed to Soma, and to Vanaspati during the cutting, and muttered only. Preceding the action by a Mantra as in the case of the Yûpa (means having muttered) : “ O tree, protect him, etc.”

The two Mantras addressed to Soma and Vanaspati, are both spoken during the cutting, because on account of the Mantras being muttered their object is not visible. (Which Mantras are called) saumyâh, addressed to Soma, that is known. The Mantra addressed to Vanaspati is : Vanaspate Çatavalṣosvaroha, (R. V. III. 8.) The transferring of the qualities of the Yûpa to the scales (by the words) asya yûpavat i. e. in the case of this as in the case of the Yûpa, causes the repetition of something established (before).

Pitāmaha (says) :

“ But the scales should be made (in length) four hastas, and the side-posts as long, the space between (the scales and the posts) should be one hasta and a half.”

Vyâsa (says) :

“ But two hastas of each side-post (of the scales) are to be dug into the ground.”

Pitāmaha (says further) :

“ The scale beam is to be made four-cornered, firm, and straight, and hoops should industriously be placed in three places (middle and the two ends).”

The same (goes on) :

Having fastened the two basins to the two ends (of the beam), let him place kuça-gras, the tops of which are directed to the east, also on the two basins.

Let him weigh those who undergo (the ordeal) on the western scale, on the other (he shall place) clean clay, bricks or ashes, (but he shall avoid stones, potsherds, bones.

Nârada (says) :

“Having firmly tied the scales (plates) to the two rings (at the ends) of the scale-beam, let him place in the one scale the man, in the other a stone. On the northern side scale let him place the man, on the southern (side) the stone. (Or) let him fill the basin with bricks, dust or clods of earth.”

The same (Nârada) declares the manner of examining (the respective weights of the man and stone);

“(Before the weighing) the examiners (should) always (make) the scale-beam even by means of two mason’s plummets, and (people who are) expert (in this business) should (always, when weighing,) pour water on the scale-beam.”

“That scale-beam on which the water does not flow, is what one should know—to be *even*.”

Pitâmaha (also) prescribes the two plummets (to be used) in order (to produce) evenness :

“At the two ends should he make two arches (torana), (which should be) higher than the scale-beam by ten fingers, and a mason’s plummet (should hang down from each arch (torana) made of clay, tied (to the arch) by a string, touching the corner of the scale-beam.”

Pitâmaha (further says) :

“Having weighed the man first, he should make him descend from the scale; but he should always adorn the scales with wimples and banners; then (a Brahman) who knows the Veda should bring the gods near to it by this rule, with drums and horns, perfumes, wreaths and ointments.”

Nârada (says) :

“Let him first honour the scales, with red sandalwood powder, perfumes and flower-wreaths, curds, cakes, unground (rice) and the like; then he should honour the learned (Brahmans).”

Yājñavalkya (says) : (II. 100 and 101) :

“People who are expert in weighing should make the accused ascend the scale, (and) when they have placed (in the other scale) a weight equal to his (weight) and made a line on the scales, he should be ordered to descend. (Before he ascends the scale for the second time, the accused) should address the scales with this Mantra :

“‘Thou, oh balance, hast been formerly constructed by the gods to be the abode of truth, therefore, oh good (goddess), speak the truth

(now), and free me from suspicion. If I have done wrong, mother, make me descend ; if I am pure, let me ascend.' ”

Nârada (says) :

“ Having bound (the accused) by oaths, he (the judge) should again make him ascend the scales in (a place) sheltered from wind and rain, having tied to his forehead a scroll (on which the accusation is written). ”

Samayaih parigrihya, having bound him by oaths. These (oaths) are given (in detail) by Vishṇu :

“ The hells of the murderer of a Brahman, the worlds where the liars go to, those are the worlds (destined) for him who practises fraud at the time of weighing. ”

Nârada declares the address (to the scales) at the time of ascending it for the second time (to be the following) :

“ Thou knowest the bad and good deeds of all creatures ; thou alone, oh god, knowest, what men do not know ; this accused man is weighed on thee, therefore deign to protect him who is under suspicion, according to truth. By truth thou excellest gods, Asuras and men.

“ Thou art truthful, O divine one, in discerning right and wrong. Sun and moon, wind and fire, heaven and earth, the waters, the heart and Yama, day and night, and the two (gods of) the twilight and Dharma know the deeds of men. ”

Pitâmaha (says) :

“ A Brahman of good character, who knows astronomy, should examine the time (when the accused has ascended the scales for the second time). Five Palas are the time allowed for the ordeal—that should be known to (those who are) expert (in the matter). But the king should employ as examiners the best of Brahmans who (will) announce the result as they see it, (who are) wise, pure not covetous. All the witnesses (after the lapse of five Palas) announce to the king (whether the accused) is guilty or not guilty. ”

Vinâdyah (means) Palas ; because (it is written) in the Smṛiti, that the time (required) in pronouncing ten long syllables is called a breath, (Prâṇa, and) six (such) breaths are one vinâdikâ (Pala).

Nârada (says) :

“ If the man who is being weighed, rises, he shall doubtlessly be guiltless ; if (the scales) remain even, or if it sinks, he shall be guilty. ”

Vṛiddhih (lit. increase, means) rising. *Hāni* (lit. abandonment means) sinking.

Pitāmaha (says):

“If (the scales remain) even, (the judge) should know that he is a little guilty; but a very guilty man sinks.”

The smallness (of the guilt is implied, if the accused has) committed a crime once (or) without intention.

But when it is asserted in the (scroll of impeachment) which he wears on his forehead, that the crime has been (either) committed only once or without intent, and there is a conflict of evidence regarding the crime only, then, if the ordeal has been instituted and evenness (of the scales has been the result), it must be repeated, because in such (a case) the fault cannot be a small one.

Therefore Brihaspati (says):

“A man who (remains) level with that (counterweight) should be weighed again; a man who rises shall have won (his cause).”

Kâtyâyana names another reason for repeating (the ordeal):

“If the scale, or the beam, or the string should break, or if there should be a doubt about the guiltlessness (of the accused), he (the judge) should examine the man again.”

Vyâsa (says):

“If the scale, or the beam, or the two hooks, or the string or the upper beam (which joins the two posts) break, the king should allow (the accused) to try to clear (himself) a second time.”

But these (opinions of the lawyers) refer (to cases) where the reason for the breakage is visible. But if no reason for the break is apparent, he is certainly guilty.

For in another Smṛiti (we read):

“If the scales, or the beam, or the two hooks, or the string, or the upper beam, should break, then he shall declare (the accused) guilty.”

Kaxa the basins of the scales.

Axa (axle, means) the upper beam (joining the two *feet* or side beams) which holds the scale beam.

The eastern (lawyers say):

“Only the weighing is repeated, not the whole ceremony with (all its) parts (as prayers, etc.)”

Madana (says):

“In order to avoid defects, the proceedings with all their details should be repeated, in the same manner (as before).”

Now follows the description of the proceeding.

The person who has to conduct the ordeal goes, on an auspicious day, to one of the before-mentioned trees and cuts it, whilst reciting the Mantra: “O plant, protect me.” Then he mutters (the verse), “Somodhenum” (R. V. I. 91-20)—Gautama is its Rishi, Soma the deity, the metre is Trishṭubh, and the manner of its recitation is Japa (muttering) Somodhenum, etc—, and (the verse), “Vanaspate (RV. III. 8, 11”) its Rishi is Viçvâmitra, the son of Gâdhi, its deity Vanaspati, its metre Trishṭubh, the manner of reciting it is Japa, “Vanaspati çatavalçah, etc.” Then he worships the guardians of the world, Indra and the rest, each separately, and makes the scale-beam four hastas long, four fingers thick, four-cornered in the middle, and at both ends four fingers thicker, and in the middle fitted with a hook or ring which is turned upwards, and at each end with a grapple or ring which is turned downwards.

Some (lawyers) say, that he then should make an altar, seven or five hastas long and four fingers high. Then he shall there or in another clean place dig into the earth, two hastas deep, two four-cornered posts six hastas long, and surmounted by tops. Above the earth will remain four hastas (of the posts), besides the top portion; the distance between those two posts should be two hastas or one hasta and a half. Between the two tops he shall place a piece of the wood which is fitted with a grapple (lit. crab), a ring, a hook or the like instrument turned downwards, for fastening the scale-beam to it. From that (beam) hangs the scale-beam with its upper hook or ring or the like, and two boards should be tied to the ends (of the beam), each with three strings. Having dug into the earth a pair of posts, (the one) to the south (the other) to the north, at a distance of two hands (from each other), at the eastern end, of the scale-beam, he shall place a joining-piece over them. This is the arch (*torana*) and that should be ten fingers higher than the balance. He shall make an (arch) of this kind also on the western side of the scale-beam. In order to know if the scales are even, he must make two mason’s plummets, of clay, in the shape of balls, hanging down from the arches, tied to them by strings, and touching the ends of the scale-beam. He shall spread on the scales, Kuça-grass blades with their tops turned to the east. Then

the Prâdvivâka, having fasted one (day), shall make the accused, who has fasted one (day), or in case of heavy accusation, if he can do it, three (days), and who has bathed in his garments, ascend the western scale on a Sunday after sunrise, and having placed in the eastern scale stones, bricks, clay, or the like, shall make (this weight) equal (to that of the accused). Truthful Brahmans and goldsmiths shall make an enquiry into this (if the scale-beam stands even) by throwing water (on it) and the like. Then (the Prâdvivâka), having made a line (in the scale) in order to know the place, where (the accused) was sitting at the time of being weighed (for the first time), he shall make him to descend.

Then the accused, having named the place and the time (where and when the ordeal takes place), and having vowed, "In order to prove my innocence, I will undergo this ordeal," shall elect, by presenting clothes and the like, besides the Prâdvivâka four priests (to perform the following sacrificial ceremonies).

The great doctors in Smṛiti lore say, that also the Svastivâcana should be performed. The Prâdvivâka, standing with his hands joined, shall bring Dharma to the scales (pronouncing the following prayer); accompanied by the sound of musical instruments, "Om, come, come, divine Dharma, approach this ordeal together with the guardians of the worlds, the Vasus, Âdityas, and, the flocks of the Maruts." Afterwards he shall bring the subordinate deities.

He uses for bringing Indra (near), "Omindramviçva" (R. V. I. 11-1,) which verse (was seen by) Madhuchandas, (and has for its deity) Indra, (and for its metre) Anuṣṭubh. The application (of the verse remains) everywhere the same. (Having muttered) "indramviçva, etc." (and having with these words) "Indra come, mayest thou stand here," brought Indra to the eastern (corner of the place), he should meditate on the yellow colour. (He then speaks the verse) "Yamâya somam," (R. V. X. 14-13) (of which) Yama (is the Rishi), Yama (the deity), and Anuṣṭubh (the metre). (Having muttered the verse) "Yamâya somam," (and having by the prayer) "Yama come hither, mayest thou stand here," brought Yama to the southern (corner), he should meditate on the dark-blue colour. (He then recites this verse) "Tvamnah," (R. V. IV. 1, 4 of which) Vâmadeva (is the Rishi), Varuṇa (the deity), and Trishṭubh (the metre). Having muttered "Tvamnosgne

varuṇasya," (and having with the prayer) "Varuṇa come hither, mayest thou stand here," brought Varuṇa to the western (corner), he should meditate on the colour of crystal.

Having brought Kuvera with the prayer from the Yajurveda "Rājādhirājāya" (and with this prayer) "Kuvera come hither, mayest thou stand here," to the northern (corner), he should meditate on the colour of gold. (He then recites the verse) "Agnim," (R. V. VIII. 44, 3) (of which the Ṛishi is Medhâtithi, (the deity) Agni, (the metre) Gâyatrî. Having muttered "Om agnim dûtam" (and having brought Agni (with the words) "Agni come hither, mayest thou stand here," to the corner sacred to Agni (south-east), he should meditate on the colour of gold. (He then recites the mantra), "Moshu" (R. V. I. 38, 6), (of which the Ṛishi is) Ghora of the race of Kaṇva, (the deity) Nirṛiti, (the metre) Gâyatrî. Having brought Nirṛiti (by muttering) "moshuṇah," (and) "Nirṛiti come hither, mayest thou stand here," (to the south-western corner), he should meditate on the dark-blue (colour).

(He then recites this mantra) "Tavavâyo" (R. V. VIII. 26-21,) of which the Ṛishi is) Vyaçva, the deity Vâyu, (and the metre) Gâyatrî. Having brought Vâyu (by muttering "Tavavâyav," etc. and, "Vâyu, come, etc." as before (to the north-western corner), he should meditate on the brown (smoke) colour.

(He then recites), "tamiçānam," etc. (R. V. I. 89, 5) (whose Ṛishi is) Gautama, (whose deity is) Içāna, (whose metre is) Jagatî. Having brought Içāna by muttering "tamiçānam," etc. (and) "Içāna come," etc. as before (to the north-eastern corner), he should meditate on the red colour.

To the right of Indra he should bring (the eight Vasus (with this verse): "Imayâtra vasavah" (R. V. VII. 39, 3), (whose Ṛishi is) Vasishṭha, the son of Mitra and Varuṇa, (whose deities are) the Vasus, (whose metre is) Trishtubh. He should mutter "imayâtra, etc." (and the invocation) "Vasavas come hither, stand here."

The eight Vasus are declared to be; Dhara, Dhruva, Soma, Apah, Anila, Anala, Pratyûsha, Prabhâsa.

He places between Indra and Içāna the twelve Ādityas (with this Mantra); "tyâmnu" (R. V. VIII. 561) (whose Ṛishi is) Sammada Matsya, (whose deities are) the twelve Ādityas, (whose metre is the) Gâyatrî. (He should mutter) "tyâm nuxatriyâ, etc."

Dhâtri, Aryaman, Mitra, Varuṇa, Amṣa, Bhaga, Indra, Vivasvat, Pūshan, Parjanya as the tenth, next Tvashṭri, then Vishnu last not least, these are declared to be the twelve Ādityas, by their names. He brings to the western side of Agni the eleven Rudras (by this verse) “*ārudrāsah*” (R. V. 5. 1.), (whose Ṛishi is) Ṣyavaṣva, (whose deities are) the eleven Rudras, (whose metre is) Jagatî. (He should do so by muttering) “*ārudrasah*” (and the prayer,) “*Rudras come hither.*” As the eleven Rudras are recorded Virabhadra, Çambhu and the glorious Giriça, Ahir-budhnya, Aja Ekapâd, and the unconquered Pinâkin, Bhuvanadhiçvana, and Kapâlin, the lord of men, Sthânu, Bhava, and Bhagavat. Between Yama and Nirṛiti he places Brahman (masc.) (with this verse) “*Brahmâ yajnânâm*” (whose Ṛishi is) Vâmadeva, Gotama’s son, (whose deity is) Brahman (masc.), (whose metre) Trishṭubh. (He should do so by muttering) “*Brahmâyajnânâm*” (and this invocation, “*Brahman come*) *hither.*” (And he brings to the same place) the mothers (with this verse) “*Gaurîrmi-mâya,*” (R. V. I. 164, 41) (whose Ṛishi is) Dîrghatamas, (whose deity is) Uma, (and whose metre is) Jagatî. (He should do so by muttering) “*gaurîrmi-mâya,*” (and the invocation)” O mothers, come hither, stand here.”

The seven mothers are Brâhmî, and Maheçvarî, Kaumârî, Vaishnavî, Vârâhî, Indrânî, Câmundâ. To the north of Nirṛiti he places Ganeça (with this mantra), “*Gaṇânâmtvâ*” (R. V. II. 23, 1), (whose Ṛishi is) Gṛtsamada, (whose deity is) Gaṇidhipati (the lord of hosts), and the (metre) Jagatî. (He should do so by muttering) “*Gaṇânâmtvâ*” (and the invocation “*O Ganapati, come*) *hither, etc. etc.*” To the north of Varuṇa (he places) the Maruts (with this mantra), “*Marut yasya*” (R. V. I. 86, 1), (whose Ṛishi is) Rahugana, (deity) the Maruts, (metre) Gâyatrî. (He should do so by muttering) “*Marut yasya*” (and the invocation, “*Maruts, come*) *hither,*” etc.

The Maruts are declared to be seven, viz., Gaganasparçana, Vâyû, Anila, Mâruta, Prâṇa, Prâṇeça, Jîva.

At the north side of the scales (he places) Durgâ (with this mantra) “*jâtavedase,*” (R. V. I. 99, 1, (whose Ṛishi is) Kaçyapa, (deity) Durgâ, (metre) Trishṭubh. (He should do so by muttering) “*jâtavedase*” (and the invocation “*Durgâ, come*) *hither,*” etc.

When thus he has placed these deities, he should worship them

(saying) "I give the Arghya to Dharma, adoration." Having in this manner and the like, at every new gift, repeating these words, given to Dharma the Arghya, water for the feet, water for rinsing the mouth, the honey-mixture, water for rinsing, a bath, clothes, a Brahmanical cord, water for rinsing the mouth, and finally ornaments, such as a crown, bracelets, and having presented the gifts beginning with the arghya and ending with the ornaments (as above) to Indra and the rest, (pronouncing) their respective names preceded by the word Om, and standing in the dative case (Om indrâya arghyam prakalpayâminamah, etc.) according to the fit time for giving the gift, and having (then) presented to Dharma perfumes, flowers, frankincense, lamps and eatables, such as curds, cakes, unground rice, he shall also present perfumes, etc., to Indra and the other gods in the manner before described. And the perfumes, flowers, etc. must, when Dharma is worshipped at the ordeal of the scales, be coloured red: to Indra and the other (gods) they may be offered in the state in which they are obtained. The judge shall perform the ceremony which ends with this (act just described).

Then the burnt-offerings are to be offered by four priests, after common fires have been kindled in the direction of the four points of the horizon.

Then having pronounced the Gâyatrî together with the word Om, (and) again Om followed by the word svâhâ, they shall offer of each of (these, viz.) clarified butter, boiled rice and firewood, one hundred and eight oblations to Savitṛi. Then the accused shall write the matter he is accused of, on a scroll and the prayer "Sun and moon, wind and fire, heaven and earth, the waters, the heart and Yama, day and night, and the two twilights and Dharma know the acts of man." Then he (the judge) should correct (the writing) and place the scroll on the accused's forehead; and these ceremonies which begin with the placing of the gods and end with placing of the scroll on (the defendant's) head, are common to all ordeals.

Then the Prâḍvivâka shall address the scales with this prayer:

"Thou, O scale, art created by Brahman in order to examine the evil-minded. Because (thy name contains) the letter *dh*, thou art Dharma. Because through that letter, thou causest constantly to be known (to men) a bad man, therefore thou art called dhâtâ. Thou

knowest the good and evil deeds of all creatures. Thou alone knowest everything which men know not. This accused wishes to be cleared, therefore deign to save him, according to justice, from the suspicion (cast upon him)." Then the accused addresses the scales in the following manner):

"Thou, O scale, art the abode of truth, having been made (so) formerly by the gods. Therefore, O good one, speak the truth and free me from suspicion. If, O mother, I am a sinner, then make me descend; if I am innocent, let me rise upwards.

Then the Prâḍvivâka makes the accused, to whose forehead the scroll has been tied, reascend the scales in (exactly the same) place, and sitting (in the same manner) as (at the first weighing), and remain there (on the scale) for the space of five Palas. In that time (the accused's) innocence or guilt must be examined and announced by holy Brahmins to the king and to the members of the court. Then he descends and gladdens the Prâḍvivâka, the Brahmans and the priests (who have officiated) by rewards. Then, having dismissed the gods (with these verses) "Brahmanaspati arise" (Rigveda I. 40, 1) and "go ye crowds of gods," etc., he gives everything (the presents offered to the gods) to the judge.

Now (follow) the rules for (the ordeal by) fire.

Pitâmahâ (says):

"I will declare the rules (for the ordeal) by fire, as they are ordained by the institutes of law. Let him order to be drawn eight circles, and also in the eastern (direction) a ninth. The first circle is declared to be sacred to Agni, and the second to Varuṇa, the third to Vâyu, the fourth to Yama, but the fifth to Indra, the sixth to Kuvera, the seventh to Soma, the eighth to Savitṛi, and the ninth to all the gods: thus know those, who know the Vedas."

But Madana has declared: "They know that the eighth is sacred to all the gods, but that which is the ninth (drawn in the eastern direction) (should be) great and sacred to the earth; they should be smeared with cow-dung and sprinkled with water."

The same declares the size of the circles.

"(Measured by) thirty-two fingers should be the distance that separates circle from circle. The space occupied by the eight circles should be 256 fingers."

Mandalât, "from circle" (means) from the beginning of the circle.

The space occupied by a circle and the intervals between it and the next, should be thirty-two fingers; that is the meaning (of the passage).

Amongst these the circle occupies (a space of) sixteen fingers, and the interval between two circles as much, because Yājñavalkya says; "it ought to be known, that (each) circle occupies sixteen fingers, and the interval (between two) as much."

If the foot-print of the person who is to be cleared (by the ordeal) (occupies) more than sixteen fingers, then the distance between the two circles should be made less than sixteen fingers. If the (foot-print) of the person who is to be cleared (by the ordeal) (occupies) less than sixteen fingers, then another circle, just as broad as his foot-print, ought to be drawn inside the circle occupying sixteen fingers.

But if Nārada has written (these words), "thus two hundred, exceeded by forty (should be the measure), if (one) measures the space by fingers," that is to be understood (of the first eight circles), leaving out the portion of ground between the eighth and ninth circle, because it is not necessary for the accused to step through that.

If the reading of the Kalpataru is; "the ground prepared is thus said to be (two hundred) and twenty-four (fingers)," the number of the fingers must be added up, leaving out the first circle, where the accused stands (and takes the fire on his hands).

"Blades of Kuça-grass ought to be placed in every circle, according to the injunction of the institutes of law, and the accused should place his foot on these; that is the rule."

In the Mitâxarâ and in the Madanaratna (we read):

"He should offer in the fire one hundred and eight oblations of clarified butter, in order to propitiate (it)."

And Vijnâneçvara (says), that this burnt-offering should be offered with the prayer, "To Agni, the purifier, Svâhâ."

Nārada (says):

"A man who is by caste a smith, or expert in working with fire, or otherwise acquainted with the proceeding, should heat the iron in the fire—a ball of iron (heated till it becomes) of the colour of fire, throwing sparks, well prepared."

Pitāmaha (says) :

“ Having made a ball of iron, without corners, (perfectly) smooth, equal to eight fingers (in circumference) and to fifty palas (in weight), he should heat it in the fire.”

In the Kâlikâ Purâṇa (we read) :

“ The king should give to the accused an iron (ball), weighing fifty palas, twelve fingers in circumference, consisting (as it were) of fire only, (heated by) blowing (with bellows).”

But Çankha and Likhita declare that the ball must weigh sixteen palas, (in the passage) beginning thus :

“ But having taken, into his joined hands, a fire-coloured ball sixteen palas in weight, enveloped in seven Aṅvattha-leaves.” And this (ball weighing sixteen palas) is for a weak man.

The ball should be heated three times, because Nârada says : “ this (ball) being heated for the third time.”

There (at this ordeal) after the ball has been heated for the first time), it is thrown into water ; when it has been heated (for the second time), it is (again) thrown into water ; and whilst it is again being heated the Prâḍvivâka should perform (the ceremonies), beginning with the bringing near of the gods, and ending with the placing of the scroll on the forehead (of the accused).

Then (at this stage of the proceedings) Pitāmaha mentions a peculiarity in the worship of the fire :

“ Then the king should order the fire to be worshipped with red sandy ointment and perfumes, and also with red flowers.”

Hârîta (says) :

“ He (the accused) should then place himself, facing the east, with outstretched fingers, in wet garments, clean, having tied to his forehead the scroll.”

The words “ the accused” must be understood.

Pitāmaha (says) :

“ He shall place himself in the first circle, facing the east, with his joined hands (stretched towards the) east, being pure.”

Nârada (says) :

“ In all wounds or contusions (which he may happen to have) in his hand, let him make (marks in the shape of) swan's feet ; and he should look at them again (after the ordeal) (and he should make)

the hands variegated by dots (with a coloured substance)."

Yājñavalkya (says) :

"Having marked his hands, by crushing (in them) some rice, he should place (in them) seven Aṣvattha-leaves and tie them as often with a string."

(The word) *tâvat*, "often," qualifies the action.

Vijnâneçvara means to say therefore "he should tie it seven times."

Madana (on the other side) says :

"Tâvatsutram, 'so much string' means a collection of strings by so much, therefore he should tie (the leaves) once with seven strings taken together."

Pitāmaha (says) :

"Let him place in his hands seven Pippala-leaves, unground rice, flowers, curds, and tie them there with a string."

The verses with which the Prâḍvivâka addresses, on this occasion, the fire contained in the ball, will be declared in the Prayoga.

Yājñavalkya (says) :

" 'Thou, O Agni, goest into the interior of every creature, O purifier, O sage, speak the truth in regard to my good and bad deeds, like a witness.' He shall place into both the hands of the accused, who has thus spoken, a fire-coloured, smooth iron ball, fifty palas in weight."

Pitāmaha (says) :

"Then the king, who is intent upon exercising justice, or a (man) ordered (to do so), shall place it (the ball) with pincers in his hands."

Nârada (says) :

"Having taken it (the ball) into his hands, being ordered (to do so) by the Prâḍvivâka, (and) standing in one (of the circles) he shall walk over seven others, walking straightforward."

Pitāmaha (says) :

"He (the accused) should not walk quickly but steadily and slowly, he should not overstep (any) circle, nor should he place his foot into the intervals, and having reached the eighth circle, he shall throw it (the ball) down into the ninth, (if he is) a wise man."

But the ball must be thrown down into the ninth circle, which is covered by Kuça-grass.

For thus the Kâlikâ Purâṇa (says) :

"And he should walk (through) seven circles, each sixteen fingers

by measure, and (over) as much (distance) in the intervals. Having walked (this distance), he shall throw (it) down on fresh Kuça-grass (which is strewn in the ninth circle)."

Pitāmaha (says) :

"Then he should place in his (the accused's) hands, rice with its husk, or barley (yava). But if he rubs them to pieces without hesitation and shows no change (then in his hands) at the end of the day, he shall declare him to be innocent."

Kātyāyana (says) :

"If the accused stumbles, or is burnt anywhere else (than in his hands), the gods do not consider that burn (as a proof of guilt) ; he shall allow him (to perform the ordeal once) more."

Yājñavalkya (says) :

"If the ball falls from his hands, or a doubt (arises whether it has been done properly), he should take it (the ball) again."

Now (follows) the manner of proceeding.

After the place has been purified in the morning, the nine circles should be drawn in the evening. Having made the first amongst these sixteen fingers broad, he divides a space of thirty-two fingers (just) before (the first circle) in two parts. The second part (of these) he makes of the size of the (accused's) foot, the rest becomes the interval. And having finished in this manner, beginning from the third and ending with the eighth circle, and having before (the last) left a space of sixteen fingers in breadth, he makes a ninth circle of an undefined size. And thus the space (occupied) by the eight circles and (eight) intervals together, is two hundred and fifty-six (fingers). Eight grains of (yava) barley measured across their thickest part, or three rice grains in their husks measured from top to end, are declared to be equal to a finger.

A span (vitasti) contains twelve fingers. A hasta 'ell' (or 'cubit,' from elbow to top of fingers) is (equal to) two spans. A Daṇḍa, 'yard' is (equal to) four ells. Two thousand yards make one Kroṣa, and four Kroṣas make one Yojana.

The span and the other (measures) will be used (in passages occurring) below.

Then the judge, after having worshipped, in their order, the gods presiding over the nine circles, of which the western is the first, viz.

Agni, Varuna, Vāyu, Yama, Indra, Kuvera, Soma, Savitṛi, and all the gods, (and) having kindled a common fire in a place that lies to the south of the space occupied by the circles, offers one hundred and eight oblations of butter, (saying): “To Agni the purifier, svâhâ!” (This is done) in order to propitiate (Agni).

Then having placed into that fire a round, smooth, iron ball, without corners, eight fingers in circumference and weighing fifty palas, he performs, whilst it is being heated, the ceremonies described in the rules for the ordeal by the scales, beginning with the bringing near of Dharma and ending with the burnt-offering; (and) when it is being heated for the third time, the Prâḍvivâka should address Agni, who dwells in the iron ball, with the following verse:

“Thou, O Agni, art the four Vedas, thou art called at the sacrifices, thou art the mouth of all gods, thou art the mouth of all speakers of divine knowledge, thou livest in the bellies of the creatures, therefore thou knowest (their) guilt and innocence. Because thou purifiest from sin, therefore thou art called the purifier. To the guilty show (thy power), O purifier, shine with brilliancy.

“But be propitious to those who are of innocent mind, O thou who eatest the oblations.

“Thou, O Agni, walkest in the interior of all creatures as a witness. Thou, O god, knowest what men do not know. This man, who is accused, wishes to be cleared, therefore deign to save him from suspicion, according to truth.”

In order to clean the iron, having thrown the heated iron-ball into water, it should be again heated and again thrown into the water, and then again heated,—it is the third heating.

The judge, after having taken up the well-heated, fire-coloured iron-ball, which has been thus addressed, with a pair of pincers, and holding it before the person, who undergoes the ordeal, who has fasted, bathed, is in his wet garment, wears the scroll on his forehead, and stands in the western circle, he places it into his hands.

The latter (before taking it) addresses it with the following (verse):

“Thou, O fire, dwellest in all creatures, O purifier, speak thou the truth in regard to my guilt or innocence, O sage!”

The “preparation of the hands” consists, in crushing rice in them

and joining them, in marking the black and red spots, the wounds and weals in them and the like with lack-juice and the like, in placing in them seven equal Aṣvattha-leaves, or (on failure of them) seven Arka leaves, or seven Āmī-leaves or seven Dūrva-leaves, rice grains, *i. e.* rice-grains wetted with whey and flour, and in tying up (the whole) seven times with seven white threads. Then the person who undergoes the ordeal, should walk through the circles, beginning with the second and ending with the eighth, and having thus made seven steps, throw the iron-ball, which he holds in his joined hands, into the ninth circle.

Then he should again crush rice (in his hands), and if his hands are not burnt he is innocent.

Now follows (the rule for the ordeal by) water.

Pitāmaha (says) :

“Now I will declare the rule (for the ordeal) by water, the eternal law. A wise (judge) should order to be made a place (purified by the application of cow-dung), then he should devoutly worship arrows with lamps and incense, and a bow made of bamboo, with auspicious flowers and incense, and afterwards perform the ordeal.”

The construction is; “he should worship the arrows with lamps and flowers.”

The worship must take place in the (purified) space.

Nârada describes the size of the bow :

“The strong bow ought to be understood to be one hundred and seven fingers long, (the bow of) middling (strength) one hundred and six, and the weak bow one hundred and five ; this is the rule regarding the bow. But let a wise (judge) shoot three arrows with the bow of middling (strength), having made a target at the distance of one hundred and fifty hastas.

Saptaçatam (lit. seven hundred) means one hundred and seven fingers long. In the same manner must be interpreted the expressions shaṭçatam (six and hundred), pançaçatam (five and hundred).

Kâtyâyana (says) :

“And he should make the arrows (used) at the ordeal without iron tops, only consisting of a piece of bamboo ; but the bow-man should shoot strongly.”

Nârada (says) :

“But going to a place full of water, he should make an arch, as

high as the ear of the accused, on even and pure ground. He should first worship Varuna with perfumes and fragrant garlands, with honey, milk, clarified butter, etc., being of collected mind. A Brahman, Xatriya or Vaiçya, who is neither a friend nor a foe (of the accused), should be placed in the water where it reaches up to his navel, (and he must be) a man strong like a post."

Pitāmaha (says) :

"First the king should place in the water a man, (strong) like a post, and then having ordered the person who undergoes (the ordeal) to go into the water, facing the east, he should then bring near (by invocation) the gods, and address the water."

The gods, i. e. Dharma and the rest (*see above*).

That he should perform the (ceremonies), beginning with the bringing near of the gods and ending with the placing of the scroll (on the accused's forehead), this and the like (and) the verses addressed (to the water) must be looked for in the (description) of the manner of proceeding.

Vyāsa (says) :

"‘By truth protect, O Varuna;’ having conjured the water (thus), and taking hold of the thighs of the man who stands up to his navel in the water, he (the accused) should enter the water."

Xam means water; *abhiçāpya* (lit. having conjured) means having addressed.

Bṛihaspati (says) :

"When he has made the (accused) man enter the water he should discharge three arrows."

Pitāmaha (says) :

"The bow-man should be a Kshatriya or a Brahman, who follows his (a Kshatriya's) occupation, (who is) not hard hearted, of subdued passions, dressed and pure."

Kātyāyana (says) :

When (the arrows) have been discharged, the submerging ought to take place, and at the same time the starting (to fetch the arrows.)

The meaning of the word *samakālīka* "at the same time," is that (it is to take place) at the same time as the submersion.

Nārada and Pitāmaha (say) :

"A young, swift man should go according to his utmost power from

the place of shooting to where the middle arrow (lies). Another man of the same qualities, having received the middle arrow, should quickly go back to the place, whence the (first) man came. But if the arrow-bearer, arriving, sees him not, and (he is) in the water, then he shall declare him to be cleared, otherwise he shall be guilty, though he may show only one limb, or if he has gone to another place from that where he entered before. 'One limb' means the ear.

And Kátyâyana (says) :

"Of whom he does only see the (top of the) head, and neither the ears, nor the nose, at his entering in the water, him also he should declare to be innocent."

Pitâmaha (says) :

"The (place where) the arrow falls is to be used (as the starting point for the second runner), and not a (place to which the arrow may have glided)."

Nârada (says) :

"Those two runners who are the swiftest among fifty, should be appointed there (at the ordeal) in order to bring the arrow."

Now (follows) the manner of proceeding.

The place of (the ordeal by) water (is described as follows).

A river, the ocean, a lake, a natural water-course, a pool or a tank and the like (places) containing quiet water, should be used. One should avoid a small or unclean (place), and one that is full of grass, reed, waves, mire, alligators, leeches, fish and the like, one which is quick-flowing and the like. There, in water which reaches up to the navel, a pillar for (fulfilling) the law should be made from a tree whose wood can be used at the sacrifice. Near this, on the western bank an arch, reaching up to the ear of the accused, should be made.

A bamboo bow of one hundred and six fingers length, and three arrows made of bamboo, without iron tops, should be placed near this. A target is to be placed on cleared ground, one hundred and fifty ells from the arch. Then after having worshipped the bow and the arrows with white sandal-wood and garlands, having brought Varuṇa (by invocation) to the water and worshipped him, and having completed the above described (ceremony), which begins with conveying of Dharma to the bank of the water and ends with the burnt-offering,

and having tied the scroll with the accusation to the forehead of the accused, the judge should address the water as follows :

“O water, thou art the breath of living creatures, thou wast first produced at the creation, and thou hast been declared to be a means of purifying things and living beings, therefore show thy (power) in discerning between guilt and innocence.”

The person who is to be cleared also should address (the water) :

“Through truth protect me, Varuṇa.” Then the accused should approach a very strong man, who supports himself by the pillar of the law, who has his face turned to the east and stands in the water up to his navel. Then a Kshatriya or a Brahmana, who follows his (the Kshatriya's) occupation, should vigorously shoot the three arrows without iron tops towards the target.

Then, whilst one swift man has taken up the middle arrow, and, having left the place where it rolled to (on the earth), placed himself on the spot where it fell, another swift (man) must stand at the foot of the arch whence the arrow was discharged.

And the swift (one) must be the swiftest amongst fifty runners.

Then, when the judge, who stands at the foot of the arch, has clapped his hands three times, the accused must submerge himself and the swift man, who stands near the arch, must begin to run very quickly. And the submersion has to take place by catching the thighs of the (man) who supports himself on the pillar of the law. Then when he (the first runner) has arrived at the place where the middle arrow fell, the man who stands there and took up the arrow runs very quickly towards the arch. If he finds the accused submerged, then he is innocent. He is also innocent, if the top of the head only is visible ; (but) not (innocent), if his ear or any other member is visible, or he has moved from where he had dived to any other place.

Now follows the rule for (the ordeal by) poison.

In (regard to) this, Nârada (says) :

“A Brahman (the judge) with collected mind, turning his face towards the north or east, having fasted, should give the poison, before gods and Brahmans, after having worshipped Maheçvara with incense, food and Mantras, (to the accused) who stands before the Brahmans facing the south.”

The same declares the quantity of the poison.

“In the rainy season the measure is recorded to be four barley grains, in the hot season five, in the cold season seven, in autumn even less than that.”

Less (means) three barley grains.

The cold season indicates also the dewy season, because these two (words Hemanta and Çiçira) are always used as a compound.

But the spring is fit (for this ordeal) because it is common to all ordeals.

Vijnâneçvara declares that the measure (of the poison) is also then seven barley-grains.

The poison should be given (mixed) with thirty times as much ghee. Because Kâtyâyana says, “but the poison should be given to men in the forenoon in a cool place, mixed with thirty times as much ghee, well pounded.”

Yâjñavalkya (II. 110) has declared the address to the poison: “O poison, thou art Brahman’s son, firm in the duty of (making known the) truth, save me, according to truth, from this accusation; become ambrosia to me.”

Nârada (says):

“Sitting down in the shade, he must be watched the rest of the day, without taking food. Manu says, that if he overcome the force of the poison, he is innocent.”

In case of excess of the measure of the poison the same ordains another interval of time:

If he remains healthy for 500 Pâlas (about 500 seconds), then he is innocent and may take medicine.

And the symptoms of (the working of) the poison (have been described) in the Vishatantra.

“The first attack of the poison causes the erection of the hair (on the body), (then follow) sweat and dryness of the mouth, after that arise (frequent) changes of colour, and trembling of the body. Then the fifth attack causes the immobility of the eyes, loss of speech and hiccoughing. The sixth, hard breathing and loss of consciousness, and the seventh, the death of the person. There (at this ordeal) he (the accused) should take the poison, after it has been placed before Mahâdeva, by the judge, who has fasted.”

Now (follows) the rule for (the ordeal by means of) water taken from the bath of a god.

Pitāmaha (says):

“He (the judge) should make (the accused) drink the water (from the bath) of that god whom (the accused) worships especially, but if he worships (all) the gods equally, he should make him drink (the water from the bath) of Aditya. Thieves and people who live by the sword, he should order to drink (the water from the bath) of Durgâ; but he should not make a Brahman drink the water from the (bath) of Aditya.”

Bṛihaspati (says):

“The (bathing water of the god) whom the accused worships exclusively, is his (the gods) weapon; having sprinkled the god he should make the accused drink three handfuls of the water.”

Nârada: “Having called the accused and placed him in the circle (drawn at the beginning of the ceremony), facing the sun, he should make him who has bathed according to the beforementioned rule, is dressed in his wet garments, and is pure, drink three handfuls of the water.”

Nârada:

“Having worshipped that god (who is especially addressed at the ordeal), and sprinkled him with water, and told (the accused) the (greatness of the) sin (in case he lies), he should make him drink three handfuls (of the water).”

There (at this ordeal) the judge, having fasted (from sunrise) and worshipped the god in the forenoon, and having taken (the god's) bath, and performed (the ceremonies) beginning with the bringing near of the gods and ending with the placing of the scroll on the forehead of the accused, should address the water with the Mantra prescribed at the ‘ordeal by water.’ Likewise should the accused address the water with the formerly-mentioned (Mantra), and then drink afterwards.

Bṛihaspati (says):

“He who does not suffer any misfortune in regard to children, wives or property within a week or a fortnight, shall doubtlessly be (considered) innocent.”

Now (follows) the rule (for the ordeal by) rice grains.

In regard to this Pitāmaha (says):

“I will declare the rules for the (ordeal by) rice grains, as it is described by its particular characteristics; but the maxim is, that the ordeal by rice grains should be allowed in case of theft only, not otherwise.”

He should order grains of Çâli, not of any other (kind of rice), to be made white. Unsullied (by impurities) he should expose them in an earthen vessel to the sun, and should keep them mixed with water from the bath (of the god) for one night, and should perform the ceremonies beginning with the bringing near of the gods according to the rule during the night.”

Kâtyâyaṇa also (says) :

“At the eating of rice grains mixed with the water of the god’s bath, he (the accused) shall be considered clean, if he spits them out clean (not mixed with blood, etc.); he (who does) otherwise (is) guilty, and should be punished.”

Pitâmaha (says) :

“He should declare that man guilty, who is seen to bleed, whose jaw or palate is torn, or whose body trembles.”

Now (follows) the rule for (the ordeal) by hot mâsha—grains (made of metal).

Pitâmaha (says) :

“I will declare the rule for (the ordeal by) hot mâshas (which is) good for (the judge) clearing (men). He should have made an iron or copper vessel of sixteen fingers (in circumference) and four fingers deep, or an earthen round (vessel). He should have it filled with clarified butter and oil (to the weight of) twenty palas. Then he should place into it, (when it is) well-heated, a golden mâsha—grain. (The accused) should take out the hot mâsha, with the thumb and (first) finger. If he does not move the ends of the fingers, or no blister comes, he whose fingers are not hurt is (considered) innocent according to the law.”

The same describes another mode (of undergoing this ordeal). Being pure, he (the judge) should order clarified butter prepared from cow’s (milk) to be heated in a golden, silver, copper, iron or earthen (vessel), and he should throw a beautiful golden, silver, copper or iron coin, which has once been washed with water, into the (liquid). When it is full of small and great gyrating waves and cannot be touched with

the nails, then he should examine it on a wet leaf, whether it makes loudly the sound *Churu*, and then he should address it once with this Mantra :

“Thou, O ghee, art the best means of holiness, and ambrosia at the sacrifice ; O purifier, burn thou the bad man, be cool like snow to the innocent.”

Then he should make (the accused), who must come, after having bathed, in wet clothes, without having eaten or drunk, take that coin which lies in the ghee. The examiners (Brahmans appointed thereto as in the ordeal by the scales) should examine his first finger. If there are no blisters, he is innocent, otherwise guilty.”

Now follows the rule for (the ordeal by) the ploughshare.

Brihaspati (says) :

“The ploughshare must be made of iron, twelve palas in weight. Eight fingers be its length and four its breadth. A thief should once lick strongly that with his tongue, when it is heated to the colour of fire. If he is not burned, he shall be innocent, otherwise he is guilty.”

Now (follows) the rule for the (ordeal by) lot.

Pitāmaha (says) :

“Now I will declare the examination of murderers, persons who raise (unjust) claims, and of persons who refuse to perform a penance for a crime of which they are accused, by means of (lots bearing the figures of) Dharma and Adharma. He should cause to be made (one lot) of silver, bearing the figure of Dharma ; and one of lead, bearing the figure of Adharma ; or he should draw on (two) pieces of the inner bark of the birch-tree Dharma and Adharma in white and black. Having sprinkled (the two lots) with the five products of the cow, he should worship (them) by presenting sandal-ointment and flower-wreaths. But to (Dharma) white-flowers (should be presented), and black flowers to Adharma. Having performed this and smeared (the images with cowdung), he should place the two (lots) in two heaps (of cowdung). The two heaps must be made round, of cowdung or (clean) earth, and must be placed in a new earthen jar, without being marked. In a clean place, smeared (with cowdung) in the presence of (the images of) the gods and of Brahmans, he should then bring near the gods and the guardians of the points of the horizon, as formerly (described). But before bringing Dharma near,

he should write the *Pratijnâpatra*, (a paper declaring the resolution of the accused to perform the ordeal and the crime of which he is accused.) Then the accused (saying,) "if I am free from guilt, may (the lot of Dharma) fall into my hand," should take one (of the heaps) without hesitating. If he has taken "the lot of Dharma" he shall be cleared, but if he has taken the lot of Adharma, he loses his cause. Thus has been declared in short the examination of by the two (lots symbolising) innocence and guilt."

Bṛihaspati (says) :

"Figures of Dharma and Adharma must be drawn on two leaves (in) white and black. Having addressed (Dharma and Adharma) with the verses which convey life to them and others, and with the *Sâma*-melodies beginning with the *Gâyatrî*, he should worship them with perfumes and white and black flowers. Having sprinkled them with the five products of the cow and placed them into two heaps of earth, and made (the heaps) equal in size without marks, he should place them in a jar. Then (the accused) should take one heap out of the jar without hesitation. If he has taken "the lot of Dharma" he shall be considered free from guilt, and is to be honoured by the persons conducting the ordeal.

Now (follows) the manner of proceeding.

Having drawn a white figure of Dharma and a black figure of Adharma on two leaves, and having given life to the image of Dharma by this (mantra) : "Am, hrîm, krôm, ham, yam, ram, lam, vam, çam, sham, sam, ham ; I (am) he (Brahma) ; may breath come here (to this image) and remain long and happily, Svâhâ ;" he (sings) the *Sâmans* beginning with the *Gâyatrî-sâman* if he knows the *Sâmans*.

(Then) he again pronounces this Mantra (Am, etc.) (and substituting for the word Dharma's breath, etc.), "Dharma's soul is here." (Afterwards) he pronounces the same once more, substituting for the words "Dharma's breath," etc., "Come hither, Oh mind, Oh eyes, Oh ear, Oh nose, O breath, (come hither) all ye organs of Dharma, remain here, Svâhâ !" Having thus given a soul to the image of Dharma, and having uttered the *Gâyatrî-sâman*, if he knows the *Sâman*-melodies, if not, the *Gâyatrî*-verse preceded by *Vyâhritis* and the syllable Om, he performs the ceremony of bringing near (the gods) and the rest. Having honoured the (images of) Dharma and Adharma in their order

with white and black flowers, and having taken the five products of the cow, (pronouncing) the syllable Om, and sprinkling (the images), he lays each of the images, Dharma together with white flowers and Adharma together with black flowers, into a heap of earth and places (these two heaps) in a new jar. The judge then performs the ceremonies beginning with the bringing near of Dharma and ending with the burnt-offering, prepares a Pratijñapatra on which also the Mantras are written, and ties this leaf to the forehead of the accused. The accused saying, "If I am pure of guilt, may (the image of) Dharma come into my hand," takes one of the two (heaps) in the jar. If he has taken the image of Dharma, he is to be considered innocent. Afterwards he should give a present (to the Brahmans).

Now (follow) the oaths.

Manu : "Let the judge make a priest to swear by his veracity ; a soldier by his horse, or elephant, and his weapons ; a merchant by his kine, grains and gold ; a mechanic or servile man by (imprecating on his own head if he speak falsely) all possible crimes."

Bṛihaspati (says) :

"In small causes oaths by (the accused's) veracity, vehicles, arms, kine, grain, or gold, by the feet of the gods or Brāhmans, by the (accused's) sons' or wives' heads are prescribed, but in accusations of crimes attended with violence the other ordeals are declared to be the means of proving (the accused's) innocence."

Yajnavalkya (says) :

"He shall be considered innocent, without doubt, to whom within a fortnight (after his taking the oath) no dreadful misfortune, caused either by the king or the gods, happens."

Dreadful (ghora) means great, because a small (misfortune) is unavoidable for men ; thus (it is written) in the Mitâxarâ.

Katyayana also (says) :

"He, to whom within a fortnight no dreadful misfortune from the king or from gods happens, is to be considered cleared by the oath." Vyāsana means âpat, misfortune. Ghora (dreadful) means exceedingly painful, because small (misfortunes) are incidental to all creatures possessing a body.

Again Kâtyâyana (says) :

"But now, if a misfortune coming from god happens to the accused

within a fortnight, he (the judge) should anxiously make him pay the property (disputed) and also a fine,—if (the misfortune) befalls him alone, and not all the people (at the same time). Sickness, a conflagration (of accused's house, etc.), the death of relations, heavy fever, eruptions, and deep-seated pains in the bones, disease of the eyes or of the throat, madness, disease of the head, and the breaking of an arm, are the diseases which befall men, (coming) from god." Misfortunes coming from the gods (are) such as the death of relations. By the (words): "(If it befalls) him alone," epidemics, such as cholera (mâri), are excluded. As in this (passage) by the (word), "his" the before-mentioned accused is referred to, sickness and the like are a sign of a false (oath), only (if they befall) the accused, and not (if they happen) to his sons or other (relations). And such (illness) ought, as before mentioned, to be grave, not trifling. With reference to this (last point) Vâcaspatimiçra (gives us) the meaning (of the passages):

"Uncommon sickness (which befalls) the accused is a sign of a false (oath). Therefore it is also declared that the death, not the sickness, of relations (is a sign of the accused's perjury)."

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*Rough Notes on some of the Antiquities in the Gayá District. —*

*By W. PEPPE, Esq.*

[Received 20th November, 1865.]

About 11 miles from Gayá, on the Patna road, there is a small village and bazar called Newree; on the right of the road there is a small temple on a mound with one or two large peepul trees round it. There are several figures lying about, and there is a slab on the pukka terrace of the temple, representing a prince on horseback with attendants, one holding an umbrella or chatta over him; others are carrying various articles; one has two vessels slung on a pole, much in the same way as pilgrims now carry the Ganges water; another has a pig on his shoulders, as far as I can make out; it would seem to represent some notable person performing a pilgrimage, (see Photograph, 9 a.\*) and may have been executed to commemorate the pilgrimage of some prince. The villagers state that this slab has only been in its present place but a short time, and that it was found in a village about a mile to the

\* The photographs alluded to in this paper may be seen in the Asiatic Society's Library.—EDS.

east, but it most likely came from the Burabur hills, which are only 6 miles from here.

The little temple or "Muth" is about 100 years old, and is said to have been built by a Mussalman Zemindar, a singular instance of toleration, if true.

*Bela.*—A mile further on is the village of Bela; there is a dak bungalow here, and it is the point where the main road is left by visitors going to the Burabur hills.

To the north of the village are extensive mounds of brick rubbish, several large tanks and the ruins of several temples (judging by the number of Lingams) dedicated to Mahadeo; they lie to the east of the large mound, through and over which the main road lies. To the south of this there is a modern temple dedicated to Kalee, built by the Tikaree family, in the Adytum of which there are a number of figures, principally in fragments: there are several of a Buddhist character.

*Palee.*—About two miles further on at a village called Palee, there is a large tank, now nearly filled up, to the north of which there are several life-sized figures standing on the road side, but of no interest, and of the kind so very common in this district.

*Nair.*—About four miles further on is a village called Nair; to the east of the village through which the road runs, is the ruin of a temple, with the pillared portico still standing; (see Photographs Nos. 10 and 11, Plate I.) The pillars are of granite in one block; the temple itself would seem to have been of brick, but is now only marked by a mound of brick rubbish: its internal chamber is still standing, and now contains a lingam.

There are several statues lying about, mostly in a mutilated condition, but none of them are of much interest. There are several large tanks in the neighbourhood, both to the east and west of the road, with several lingams in situ.

Returning to Bela and leaving the Patna road there, after going about six miles to the east, is the isolated peak called Kowa Dhol, but as this has been so fully described both by Major Kittoe and Col. Cunningham, I need only describe the photographs from this and adjacent localities.

No. 12. View of Kowa Dhol from the east, showing the site of the ancient village on the right.







No. 13. The Gigantic Boodh mentioned in Col. Cunningham's report.

No. 14. A view of the Great Gurha caves, showing the entrances to the Lomas Rishi to the right and the Ladama cave to the left, and the huge block of granite, out of which they have been chiselled at the expense of so much labour: the crack or flaw in the rock which arrested the work in the Lomas Rishi is also seen to extend to the outside.

No. 15. A new view of the entrance to the Lomas Rishi cave, showing the frieze of elephants, the drawing of which will bear comparison with that of the best artists of the present day.

No. 16 is a view of the Nagarjun hill, with door-way and ascent to the Gopi cave.

No. 17 is a view of a huge boulder supported by others, forming a natural cavity or grotto which had been built up into a small chamber or cell; the only part of the work now remaining is the mass of brick rubbish on the top, which has been kept in its place by the roots of the plants growing out of it. It is immediately alongside of the Vapiya caves, a view of which I did not obtain.

Proceeding on to Durawuth—

No. 18 is a view of the Dandoker Tal from the north-west, showing the little temple on the bank of the Tal and the hills in the background.

Nos. 19 and 20 are views of the twelve-armed figure mentioned by Col. Cunningham; I have only met with one other example of this figure.

There are several figures and sculptures of interest in this neighbourhood; one is a seated figure of Boodh, surrounded by a seven-headed snake; it is called Nagjee by the natives. I also found several slabs with quaint representations of the worship of the solid temples or chaityas, see Photograph No. 21.\* These came originally from the small hill to the south of the tank. These little hills have been covered by little buildings, the character of which I have not been able to make out; I counted some 15 or 16 on one little hill; they were mostly built on the highest peaks and also crowned every projecting spur; all that remains of them now are small platforms of rough stones and mounds of brick. What their outward forms were, cannot now be guessed, nor for what purpose they were built; but most probably they were cells for the abode of recluses. I have met

\* The base of pedestal of a figure of Buddha, has the creed in Kutila characters.



with these little buildings in several localities, and will refer to them again in noticing those I found in better preservation at Cheon.

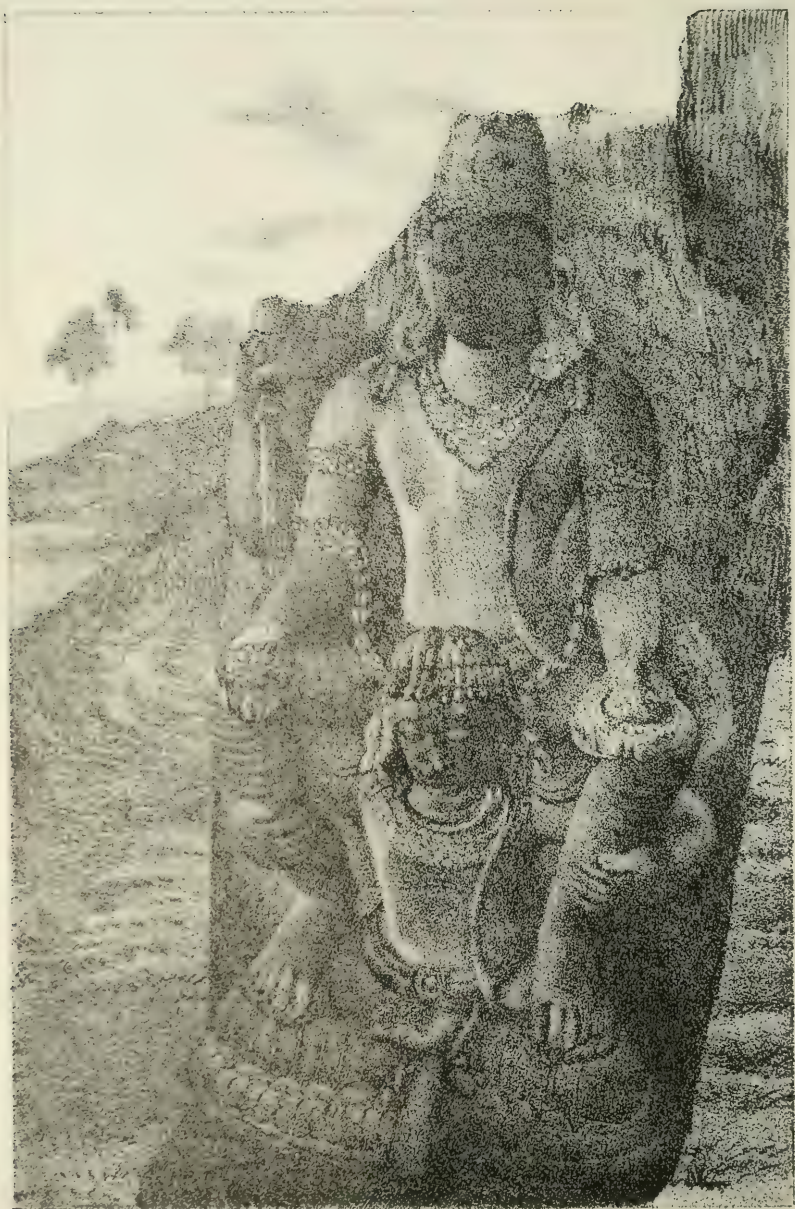
*Genjun.*—Referring to the map,\* you will see that there is a village called Genjun, about 6 miles distant, west of the Patna road, in a direct line with Durawuth. There are very extensive mounds at this village, and several large and interesting figures, one of which is represented in No. 22. It is well executed and, with the exception of the fracture, in good preservation; the figures surrounding the Boodh are representations of events in the life of Sakya Singha, with the Nirvan at the top. The figure is called Byro by the Brahmans of the village. The pedestals of several large figures as well as the lintel of a sculptured Buddhist doorway have inscriptions, but they are defaced, from the villagers having used them as whet-stones. I was informed that these figures were exhumed when the mounds were dug into for the erection of a small mud fort which adjoins these mounds: no doubt these mounds are the sites of large buildings, and their excavation would bring to light many other interesting figures.

To the north-east also a number of figures have been collected in a small brick enclosure, but they seem to be of more modern date; a figure of Gunesh is the principal one.

*Kispa.* About two miles to the south-west is a village called Kispa, where there are some very fine life-sized figures; one in the middle of the village to the east is a fine standing figure of Boodh, in capital preservation, with an inscription; near it are slabs and pillars of granite shewing that a temple had existed at this spot; the whole village stands on high ground formed of brick rubbish. To the south of the village are extensive mounds, and to the north of this there is an old mud fort. On the west side of the ditch surrounding the fort there is a twelve-armed figure, the same as the one at Durawuth, and has evidently been found when digging the fort ditch. Close by these mounds, to the south, is a small temple dedicated to Tara Devi, and a number of figures are collected in and around it; the temple itself is of the common kind seen in every village. Tara Devi is a standing figure of a Buddhist character, but it was so covered by drapery, that I could not make it out. A little to the north of this temple, and on the opposite side of a ditch cut as a water-

\* Preserved in the Asiatic Society's Library. Eds.





*Drawn on Stone by Kriśnā Hārī Das Student Govt. School of Art Calcutta*

# STONE FIGURE AT GENJUN.

With. by H. Niven S. G. O. Calcutta May 1866.

course by the villagers, is a very singular figure, and the only one of the kind I have hitherto met with : see Photograph No. 22 $\frac{1}{2}$  (Plate II.) It represents two figures, life-sized, one seated on the shoulders of the other. From the ornaments and style it is evidently Buddhist, but I am completely at a loss as to its meaning. To the north of the village, there is another little temple in a mangoe grove, with a number of figures, more or less mutilated, collected around it. I noticed a nicely sculptured Lingam of a square form, and the only specimen of the kind I have met with.

*Kutangee*.—About five miles west of this place is a village called Kutangee. There is in it a large mud fort of some pretensions, and numerous mounds of brick rubbish, some figures in fragments, but none of any interest.

*Mujheawan*.—About a koss further north, there is another large mud fort at the village of Mujheawan, and nearly every village about this have mounds and small mud forts, but I saw no figures of importance or interest.

*Kyal*.—About eight miles west of Mujheawan, there are large tanks and mounds, but no other features of importance.

*Deokund*.—South of Kyal on the borders of an extensive tract of land covered with shrub jungle is a place called Deokoond, which seems to have possessed a Buddhist temple or monastery. There is a fair held here in the month of Fagoon, when great numbers of people assemble to bathe in the tank or koond. On a former visit, I observed a number of broken Buddhist figures and miniature stupas collected under the trees : these have since been covered with a coating of mud. The temple itself is in the centre of a mass of brick rubbish, through which a road has been cut to give access to the interior chamber which is now occupied by a Lingam. A rude sort of dome has been erected immediately over the central chamber. See Photograph No. 23.

No. 24 is the gateway of a fortified serai in the old village of Daodnuggur, so named from Daood Khan the founder, who died some 200 years ago.

*Konch*.—On the road between Daodnuggur and Gayá, about 16 miles from the latter, is the village of Konch ; I have already noticed the temple at this place, but the following notes may not be unacceptable. The present village consists of two parts, the bazar on both sides of



the road, and the village proper, which is about 100 yards to the north of the road. Between the two villages there are several extensive mounds of brick rubbish, and a number of scattered Buddhist figures. On the right there is an old mud fort, and it would seem that in digging the mud for its erection, the larger figures were found; the principal one is life-size, highly finished, but wanting the head; see No. 25. This is placed upright on a level with the path. Higher up on the mound to the west are the Buddhist figures with inscriptions shown in Photograph No. 26. To the south are two figures (see Photograph No. 27) of the form I have already referred to, as being the most general all over this district, and which are named according to the fancy of the Purohit, who, provided with a few of these figures only differing in the execution, has the range of the whole of the Hindoo Pantheon, and names them at his own discretion, or according to the wishes or wants of the community.

Passing through the village proper, you come to the temple mentioned by Buchanan, and of which a drawing is given in the first volume of Martin's India. Photograph No. 28 (Plate XII) is a view of the front of the building from the east with the opening above the entrance, leading into the upper chamber. Photograph No. 29 is a view from the southwest. The accompanying ground plan (Plate III) will give the reader some idea of its structure, and the section will show the superstructure with the arched lower chamber, and the interior recess over the entrance which resembles that in the Boodh Gayá temple. Nothing but mud has been used to cement the bricks, but the latter have been so well prepared that they fit together most accurately. There would seem to have been a coating of plaster on the outside, but this has nearly entirely disappeared. A porch had been added with an arched roof, but it has fallen in, the only arch in the original building is that of the lower chamber which is painted.

In the centre of the lower chamber there is now a lingam, and in the porch there are a number of figures. Photograph No. 30 is a slab let into the wall with a representation of the avatars. Photograph No. 31 are other figures in the same enclosure. Photograph No. 32 is a nearer view of the entrance and opening above the doorway.

Immediately outside, there are a number of granite pillars, and from their number and situation, they seem to have formed an enclosure round the temple.



Journal As Soc. XXXV. p.1

TEMPLE

Drawn on st





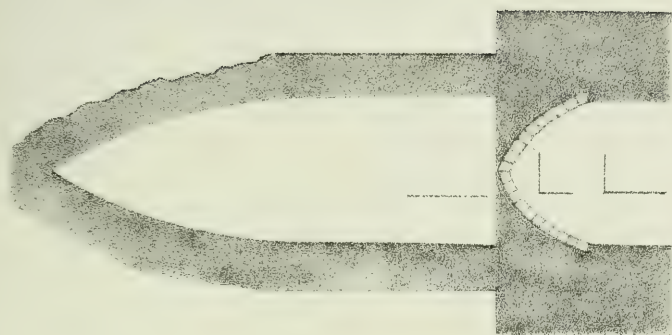
TEMPLE OF KONCH FROM A, PHOTOGRAPH BY J.H. PEPPE ESQ. &c

Drawn on stone at the Govt. School of Art Calcutta, by Kristoharry Dass, Student.

LITH: BY H. M. SMITH, SURVEYOR GENERAL'S OFFICE CALCUTTA MARCH 1868.



PLAN OF TEMPLE AT KOCH.

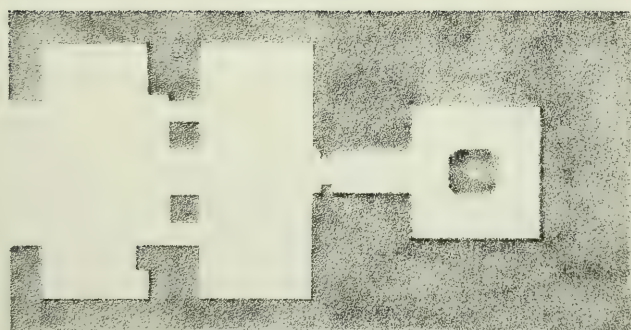


Scale

10 Feet

20 Feet

PLAN OF TEMPLE AT KOCH.



Scale

10 Feet

20 Feet





In a corner of the village near the temple, there are a great number of lingams collected, of all sizes, many with 3 and 4 sculptured faces. To the east of the temple there is a small tank ; on the banks there are several sumadhs or tombs, of the form which is so common at Boodh Gayá.

*Palee.*—Four miles nearer Gayá is another village called Palee, which seems to have had several temples ; one at least was Buddhist, and of the same form as the one at Nair and at Poonawa. Judging by the few pillars still standing (see Photograph No. 33,) a great number of pillars have been removed. When I last visited the place, quarrying for bricks was being actively carried on. Several large lingams had been dug out of the mass of rubbish, and also a bull of the usual form, so that the temple, which was most likely originally Buddhist, had subsequently been converted into a Hindoo one. A few paces to the west close to the road there is a large lingam in situ, with a peepul tree growing in the interstices : see Photograph No. 34. Close by is the lintel of a Buddhist temple door, and the side posts are a little distance apart under a peepul tree : see Photograph No. 35. For some distance round there are traces of temples, but those described seem to have been the only ones of any size.

Almost directly south from Konch is a large village called Kabur, and adjoining it is a rather large fort marked Mudun in the maps, but I could find no local name for it. From the extensive mounds in every direction, and the appearance and size of the fort, it is of much earlier date than the generality of the mud forts so common in this district. It is attributed to the Kole Rajahs by the natives, and this is the case with everything which is earlier than the advent of the Mussulmans. I was disappointed in not finding any figures or inscriptions in the neighbourhood. There are one or two pillars of black chlorite which must have belonged to some old Hindoo Temple, but the natives informed me they had been collected for the building of a mosque by some former inhabitant of the village. There is a granite stone, itself originally a part of a pillar, inserted in a large well, but which has proved to be the dedication of the well by some obscure individual : see Photograph No. 36.

About 6 miles to the south-west is a large village and bazar called Chirkawan ; it is the principal place in the Pergunnah of that name. It

is built on the site of an ancient village, and there is an old mud fort adjoining. A large tank to the south-east of the village has a stone pillar in the centre, but with no inscription; it is one block of granite rudely sculptured, and is now only about 10 feet above ground. Another pillar of the same kind occurs at a village called Belar, with extensive mounds about 5 or 6 miles to the south. Two miles to the south, there is a cluster of small detached hills at the foot; almost easterly there is a village called Cheoñ (pronounced Cheo). To the east of this village, on a small eminence, there is a ruined temple still partly standing: see Photographs Nos. 37 and 38: the first shows the appearance of the temple from the south, and the second gives a nearer view of the doorway. The temple is built of squared granite blocks, with little cement or iron bands, and is evidently of the same age as those at Oomga. There is a lingam in the interior, but no other figures, and there are only a few figures about. I failed in finding any inscriptions.

Some little distance to the north, near the hill, there are several large figures all more or less mutilated, and a great number of squared granite blocks, from which it would seem that another temple existed here; and the base of the hill on the west, north and east, is covered with brick rubbish in mounds of more or less distinct shapes. The hill runs down into a low spur on the west side, and every available spur and ridge had been covered with buildings. Some of the mounds to the south are both large and high, so that there is little doubt that this must have been the site of a considerable settlement in former days; and that it was a Buddhist community, may be inferred from the prevalence of figures of a Buddhist character.

To the west is another little hill called Puchar, which is also covered with the remains of little buildings; and on the south side, half way up, there is a small cave temple with the doorway and passage still standing: see Photographs Nos. 39 and 40. The doorway is supported on pillars with the usual bracket capitals, and the roof of the passage is made with slabs of the same granite. The cave is only some ten by twelve feet, of an irregular form, as it is a natural cavity between the huge boulders, with some addition in the shape of a few bricks to close up the interstices; one of these communicates with other cavities in the hill, as a strong current of air was found to be passing into the interior, so much so that a light was extinguished, but as the opening

was so narrow, there could have been no cave beyond, else it would have been widened. The roof is a boulder supported by others at each side.

There are several fragments of images, but only two are perfect; one is a seated figure of Boodh about 3 feet high, but it is partly imbedded in the accumulation of rubbish on the floor; it has the same canopy of a seven-headed snake which I observed at Durawut, where it is called Nagjee; here it is called Langa-beer! The other figure is a female, one which, Bábu Rájendralála Mitra says, represents Máyádeví, Mother of Boodh.

Outside, there is a small platform, in front of the entrance, of undressed stones, and a series of rude steps leads up from the foot of the hill. I may mention that there is a story current amongst the natives here, that a party of strangers arrived at this place, ostensibly as a marriage procession, that they encamped at the foot of the hill, and that in the night time they dug up a quantity of treasure which had been buried at the foot of a large detached boulder: the hole which they had dug was pointed out. They say that they were Coles or people from the South, and it was explained that these people were formerly in possession of this part of the country, and this was how they came to know that there was treasure buried here.

About a mile to the north there is another little hill which was originally crowned with a temple, judging by the number of squared granite blocks which lay strewn about, and by the stones made use of in erecting a Durga over the tomb of some Mussulman Saint.

To the south of Cheoñ, at the distance of a mile, there is another cluster of hills; the nearest village is called Deokillee; the easternmost pinnacle of the hill is crowned by a mass of brick rubbish. In the centre of this mound, facing the east, the internal chamber is intact, but the entrance was nearly blocked up. By dint of squeezing, however, a native managed to get inside, but there was no figure; the little chamber was only some 10 by 12 feet long, but the rubbish filled it to within two feet of the roof, so that it is possible there may be some figures buried in the rubbish. To the north on the same space of the hill is a small cavity amongst the boulders which had been built up and thus formed a small chamber, and in front there is a natural basin in the rock which had been added to, and thus formed a

small tank or reservoir. Lower down on the north side there are two more of these cavities; in both cases the doorway is formed of granite pillars with bracket capitals,—the entrances are blocked up with rubbish. There are several others on this side of the hill, and on the connecting spur between this hill and the next, there is a small temple or altar, with a roof of granite slabs supported by 6 granite pillars with bracket capitals; there seems to have been a superstructure of brick, but very little of this now remains; there are no figures or inscriptions from which the age may be deduced, but it is probable that they were Buddhist, for the style is exactly the same as at Cheoñ in which Buddhist figures are found, and it is most likely that all these hills, and also those at Durawut, were the abode of numerous Buddhist ascetics, and Fa-Hian states that the hills at Raggae contained several hundred grottos inhabited by devotees.

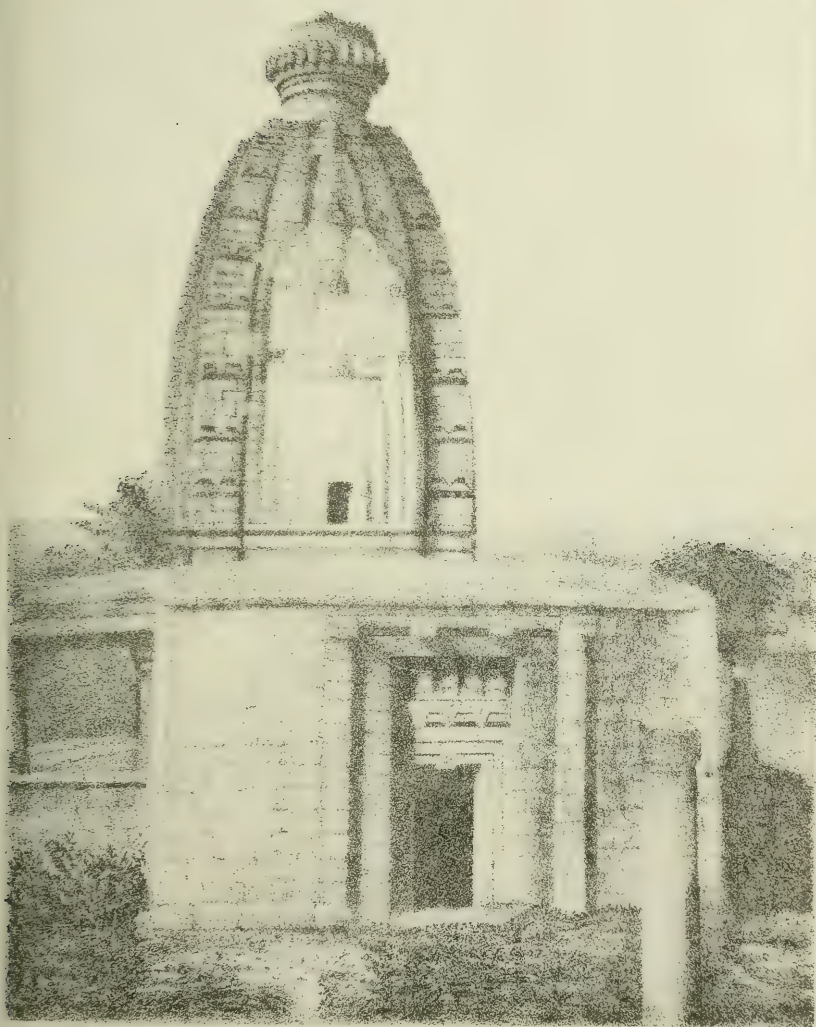
Some distance to the south-west there is another cluster of hills, and near a village called Chain there are several very large mounds covering several acres, and great numbers of granite blocks are lying about in every direction, but there are no figures or inscriptions, and it is quite impossible to guess at the age or description of the buildings which must have existed here. At the mouth of a small valley, partly where it runs into the plain, a dam had been erected for the water.

About four miles west from this is a large village, called War. There are extensive mounds to the south of the village, and there is a mud fort with a pukka citadel in rather good preservation; the wall is of brick, loop-holed all round; a range of rooms runs round the enclosure; and underneath there is another range of rooms evidently intended as store rooms and as a refuge for the families of the garrison during an attack.

About five miles to the south-east is a small village called Mudunpur, on the Grand Trunk Road, and near it, about a mile and a half to the west, on a spur of the hill is Oomga temple, which has already been described by Major Kittoe in the 16th Vol. of the Asiatic Society's Journal. Photograph No. 41 (Plate IV.) will give some idea of its appearance from the south, and of the rock on which it is built; the temple faces the east. See Photograph No. 42, which shows its front.

Higher up and on the same hill is another temple, but now in ruins: see Photograph No. 43. Scattered all over this hill and the adjoining





*Drawn on stone by artist Huri Dás Sinden, Govt. School of Art Calcutta.*

# OOMGA TEMPLE

Lith. by H. Niven S. G. O. Calcutta May 1866



one, are a great number of little temples and altars, all of them built of dressed granite, and a great profusion of figures, principally of Gunesh and lingams, of every conceivable shape and size. There is an entire absence of Buddhist figures, which shows that these erections are of a more recent date. From the translation of the long inscription given by Major Kittoe, it would appear that the temple was erected A. D. 1439. The Bamboos, which he bewails as having all died off, have sprung up again, and are as vigorous as ever.

*Deo* is distant about 10 miles from this. To the south-west the temple has a very strong resemblance to the Oomga one: see Photograph No. 44. It is of much the same size, and in capital preservation.

The village of Poonawa, visited by Col. Cunningham, is about 14 miles from Gayá to the eastward, on the Nowaderle road. Photograph No. 45 is a view of the pillared temple from the north-east. There is a strong resemblance between this temple and the one at Nair. The door is a very finely sculptured one (see Photograph No. 46), and is almost a facsimile of the one at Palee: see Photograph No. 35.

At Koorkihar there are a great number of figures; the principal one is a Boodh with representations of events in the life of Sakya Singha round the margin (see Photograph No. 47), but it is much inferior to the same figure at Genjun, (see No. 22.) No. 48 is a group of figures outside the little temple to the north of the village.

The remaining photographs are from Rotasghur in Shahabad. No. 49 is a distant view of the palace from the east side of the ravine. No. 50 is the elephant gate or principal entrance to the palace from the court-yard.

No. 52 is a view of the Mausoleum over the tomb of the chamberlain of one of the former Governors.

No. 51 is a view of the interior of the Palace.

*Gayá, 9th November, 1865.*

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*Literary Intelligence.*

Mr. E. B. Cowell has sent to press the Yoga Aphorisms of Patanjali, with the commentary generally ascribed to Vyāsa. The work, we understand, is to appear under the auspices of the Sanskrit Text Society.

Major Henry Dixon, H. M.'s 22nd Reg. M. N. I., has just published a large quarto volume containing Photographs of 113 Canarese and 10 Sanskrit inscriptions. They are from the districts of Chittledroog, Davenghiri, Hurrihur, Ballagamee, Taldagundee, Sooroob, Annantpur, Shemogah, Taicul, and Beygoor in the Mysore Territory, and contain records which will prove of great interest to the historian of the Indian peninsula. The Canarese inscriptions are taken mostly from Sati stones of the Saiva period, and a number of them have the figures of Siva and his attendants carved on the top. The Sanscrit ones are title deeds of grants of land made by the former princes of Mysore, Canara and the Carnatic. We hope some enterprising scholar in Madras will, by translating these records, render them accessible to European scholars, and Major Dixon will meet with sufficient encouragement from the Government of Madras and the public to rescue from the ravages of time other documents of the kind of which there are a great number in Mysore.

The following is an extract from a letter from Dr. R. Rost of London.

“I mean to take an early opportunity of drawing attention to some rare Sanscrit MSS. in our possession, which are in Grantham characters, and have never been looked into. Amongst them are the Rik, White Yajur, Sāma and Atharva Vedas; Kumārila, Mīmāṃsātantravārtika, the Sāṅkhya Saptati with commentary (2 copies), the Mayūkhamālikā on the Sastradīpikā, Mananam (Vedānta), and Bharata's Nāṭya S'āstra. Of the last mentioned work, there are several copies in the Brown collection at Madras; but all of them being, like our copy, in Drāvidian characters, they are sealed books to the intending editor, Mr. Hall. We have altogether nearly 200 Sanscrit MSS. in the Grantham character. I wish Mr. C. P. Brown had deposited his large collection of Sanscrit MSS. (above 2300) in London; in Madras no one cares for them.”

# JOURNAL

OF THE

# ASIATIC SOCIETY.

PART I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. II.—1866.

*Description of Ancient Remains of Buddhist Monasteries and Temples, and of other buildings, recently discovered in Benares and its vicinity.—By the Rev. M. A. SHERRING, L. L. B., and CHARLES HORNE, Esq., C. S.*

[Received 20th November, 1865.]

In a former paper on the Buddhist Remains found at Bakarya Kund, Benares, which we had the pleasure of communicating to the Asiatic Society last year, it was shown how that at this spot extensive traces still exist of ancient edifices, for the most part of the Gupta period, consisting of remains of several Buddhist temples and of one vihar or monastery. It is our purpose in the present paper, to give the results of further investigations into the antiquities of this city.

Fully satisfied, as we believe most persons are, that Benares is a city of extreme antiquity, we have endeavoured to ascertain to what portions this epithet will apply. And by the term 'old' we mean not a few hundred years merely, although a city six or seven hundred years old is generally regarded as an ancient city. But we must remember that Benares lays claim to an antiquity of several thousands of years, and undoubtedly it is referred to in various ancient Hindu and Buddhist writings. Consequently, we are not satisfied with discovering in it edifices erected half a dozen centuries ago, any more than we should feel satisfied with discovering edifices of a similar date in Jerusalem, or Damascus, or Rome. The terms 'ancient' and 'old'



as used in this paper, will therefore not be applied to buildings erected 500 or even 800 years ago, but to those of a previous period.

That wonderful mass of lofty houses separated by narrow lanes and packed together in such wild disorder, appearing in fact like one immense structure of gigantic proportions, which extends along the banks of the Ganges for more than two miles, and has a circumference of at least six, although built for the most part of solid stone, and presenting largely the aspect of hoary age, has no right to the epithet of 'ancient.' Some of the buildings of which it is composed, have been standing fully five hundred years, yet there are very few indeed which have not been erected since the commencement of the Mohammedan period in India. But speaking generally, this, together with a part of the northern boundary of Benares, is the oldest portion of the present city, while that large extent of buildings lying south and west beyond it, and occupying four or five times its area, is chiefly of recent date.

The question which we have attempted to investigate, is, what is there in Benares more ancient than, say, the epoch of Mahmúd or Gazní, who invaded India in the year of our Lord 1001? Are there any remains of the preceding Hindu, Jain, and Buddhist periods? And is there any remnant whatever of the first Hindu period before the rise of Buddhism in the sixth century B. C., or even before it became paramount in the reign of Asoka, B. C. 250?

When, after diligent search and careful scrutiny, we endeavoured to find proofs of the existence of Benares during these earlier periods, we soon ascertained that they were scanty, and with a few exceptions unimposing. The debris of ancient Benares may be traced in the multitude of carved stones, portions of capitals, shafts, bases, friezes, architraves, and so forth—inserted into modern buildings in the northern and north-western quarters of the city. These fragments exhibit a great diversity of style, from the severely simple to the exceedingly ornate, and are in themselves a sufficient proof of the former existence of buildings, of styles of architecture corresponding to themselves, yet differing in many important respects from the styles of modern Hindu and Mohammedan structures, and coinciding with those of ancient temples and monasteries of the Gupta and pre-Gupta periods, the ruins of which are still existing in various parts of India. Were

these the only remains found in Benares, they could not fail to awaken much curious interest in the mind of the antiquarian; and he would naturally carry on a process of induction in regard to them, and would say to himself, 'here are the stones, but where are the buildings? What was their form? What their age?' And with the help of the ruins of other places, he would be able to answer most of these questions satisfactorily, and would, to a large extent, describe the buildings, to which the stones at one time belonged, and would determine the epoch of their erection. Our belief is, that the most ancient ruin yet discovered in India, exhibits nothing older than some of these Benares stones, now embedded in modern walls and parapets, and scattered about in divers holes and corners of the city.

The fact that such old fragments are found in Benares, united with the circumstance that such an exceedingly small number of structural remains of any pretensions to high antiquity are traceable in it, goes far to prove that the city has been not once, but several times, destroyed, until, except in rare instances, and these chiefly consisting of foundations and basement mouldings, not one stone of the ancient city has been left upon another, and the foundations of its temples and its palaces have been torn up, so that their places are no larger known. Moreover, there is no manner of doubt, that the site of Benares has considerably shifted, and that at one time it came quite up to the banks of the river Burna, which flows into the Ganges on its northern boundary, and from which it is now distant nearly half a mile, and stretched beyond the opposite bank, until perhaps it coalesced with the ancient city which, if we may believe the Ceylon historians, encompassed Sarnath in the age when Sakya Muni arrived there to "turn the wheel of the Law," or previous to it. If this be true, the Hindu pilgrim who performs his wearisome journey of perhaps many hundreds of miles, with the object of reaching holy Kashi, and dying in the city of his fathers, is labouring under a prodigious delusion, for the city which he visits, has been chiefly erected under Mohammedan rule, and on a spot for the most part different from that which his fathers trod; and the fanes in which he worships, are not the spacious temples which his ancestors built, but either the pinched and contracted cage-like structures, which Mohammedan emperors just permitted their idol-loving subjects to erect, or modern imitations of the same,

We shall now proceed to describe such ruins and remains of ancient edifices, whether Hindu or Buddhist, which we have discovered in Benares or in its immediate suburbs.

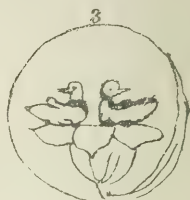
*Buddhist Vihár—No. I.*

The remains of this vihar are in the interior of the fort at Raj Ghaut, in the outskirts of the city on its northern boundary. There is a small tongue of high land, about fifty feet above the plain below, extending to the junction of the Ganges and the Burna, which, in the mutiny, was strongly fortified, and has been styled ever since, the Raj Ghaut Fort. There is a tradition amongst the natives, that this spot was selected, ages ago, for a similar object by the famous Rajah Banár. It is probable that formerly the whole of this elevated tract was inhabited, and that the Rajah governing the city had his chief residence there. It is the natural key not only of modern Benares, but also of the country for several miles around; and a well-equipped force in possession of it would, with difficulty, be approached and dispossessed. The Government has lately abandoned this grand strategical position on the ground of its alleged unhealthiness.

A short distance to the right of the main road leading into the Fort, may be seen the remains of the vihar, which I will now describe, and which, next to the Buddhist temple at Bakarya Kund, are the most complete, and certainly are the most beautiful, of any ancient remains yet discovered in Benares. They consist of two cloisters in a continuous line, each being sustained by a quadruple colonnade, but differing both in height and in length. The smaller cloister is 66 feet long, and the larger 84 feet, and therefore the entire façade is exactly 150 in length, whilst the breadth of both is uniform, and is 25 feet. There are 8 columns in each row in the one room, or 32 in all; and in the other, there are 10 in each row, or 40 in all; so that the number of stone pillars standing in the entire building is 72. Those in the smaller cloister are barely 9 feet high, and are all square and of a uniform pattern, a slight difference only being traceable in the capitals, which are of the old cruciform shape. There is not much ornamentation on these pillars, but the chess-board and serrated patterns are abundantly carved upon the architraves. The pillars in the larger cloister, including the capital and base, are 10 feet in



## BUDDHIST VIHAR—RAJ GHAUT FORT.



Ordinary type/  
Scrolls on pillars  
from  
Bahmin Kuru

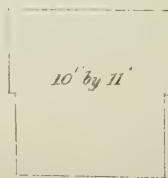
1. 2. 3. 4.  
Centres of Scrolls  
on pillars  
Raj-ghaut.



Raj-ghaut  
a Basement moulding

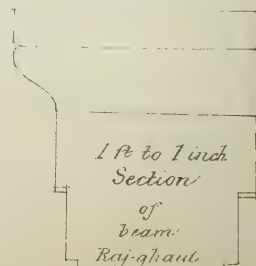


Lower cloister basement  
Moulding Raj-ghaut.



10' by 11'

Section



1 ft to 1 inch  
Section  
of  
beam  
Raj-ghaut.

Portion of  
pillar, not to Scale

8 Scrolls on the shaft



height, but the architraves above the capitals are of the same height as those in the smaller cloister, namely one foot. These pillars differ greatly both in shape and ornamentation from those just described. Some of them are covered with profuse carving cut deeply into the stone, which in many instances is so sharp and well-defined as to give the appearance of having been recently executed. The lotus plant—pod, leaf, blossom and stem—forms a conspicuous object in many of the designs, all of which are striking, but some are exquisitely chaste and elegant. The *chakwa* or Brahmani duck is represented in various attitudes on the noble scroll-work extending along the square sides of several shafts from the base to the capital. These scroll bas-reliefs equal the carvings on the Sanchi pillars in richness, whilst the designs are much more free in their conception. There were formerly human figures, probably of a grotesque form, carved upon some of the pillars, as traces of them are still distinctly discernible, but these were defaced and almost obliterated by the Mohammedans, on taking possession of the edifice and appropriating it to their own uses. The pillars are regularly arranged with regard to the Singhasan, and the finest pillars are in the centre of the cloister, in the direction of its depth; and above them, near the inner wall, the stone ceiling in two divisions of the roof is singularly carved, and, strange to say, is of the kind described by Fergusson as Jain architecture. One of them is Alhambric in character, while the other is covered with lotus blossoms carved in relief.

There is not the smallest doubt that these cloisters have been much altered from their original condition, and that principally by the Mahommedans who transformed them into a mosque, in which service they were employed even as late as the mutiny in 1857, and were regarded with peculiar sanctity by this people. On closely examining the columns, architraves and cielings, it is plain that not only has there been a good deal of shifting of places, but new pillars carved in recent times have been added to the old, and some of the old have been cut up for repairs, and their separated portions have been scattered amongst several pillars and joined on to them. The inner massive stone wall running along the entire length of the building, is evidently unconnected with the original structure, as also is the present stone floor which is a foot and upwards higher than the old.

A trench having been dug on the east side, it was discovered that the bases of many of the columns were embedded deep below the modern stone pavement, while in the front of the smaller cloister, at a depth of about a foot, the outer moulding of the ancient floor could be traced continuously from one end to the other. Notwithstanding all these extensive alterations which the building has undergone from time to time at the hands of different masters, we cannot but think that many of the columns are standing on their proper sites, and that the edifice, although greatly changed, is still in its main features a Buddhist structure. The cloisters were transformed into their present condition as a mosque some 80 years ago, and the modern pavement was then put down.

There is reason to believe that a third cloister, corresponding to the smaller, formerly existed at the southern extremity of the larger cloister; and this supposition is greatly strengthened by the circumstance of a *Singhásan* or throne of Buddha, already referred to, being still standing by the wall in the centre of the latter, but altered from its original form, having been used by Mohammedan Mullahs as a rostrum or pulpit. The vihá, when complete, was in all likelihood a square, each side being at least the length of these three cloisters, and the chief Buddha was exactly opposite the centre of the square. What other buildings were formerly here, in addition to those now visible, can of course only be conjectured. It is probable that on three sides were cloisters, and on the fourth, namely that to the east, was a row of temples, the largest containing the principal figure of Buddha. That other buildings were once here, is certain from the various sculptured stones found near by. We observed seven pillars, sixteen isolated capitals, and four large carved stones used for architraves, some of which support a recently erected structure attached to the smaller cloister.

The venerable ruins described above, present a very remarkable appearance. In the year of the mutiny, barracks for European troops having been erected in their neighbourhood, they were converted into a vast cook-room or kitchen. Fires were lit inside on the stone floor from one extremity to the other, and consequently the roof, walls, and columns, were charred by the heat and blackened by the soot, so that now the interior of this grand edifice is most dismal and

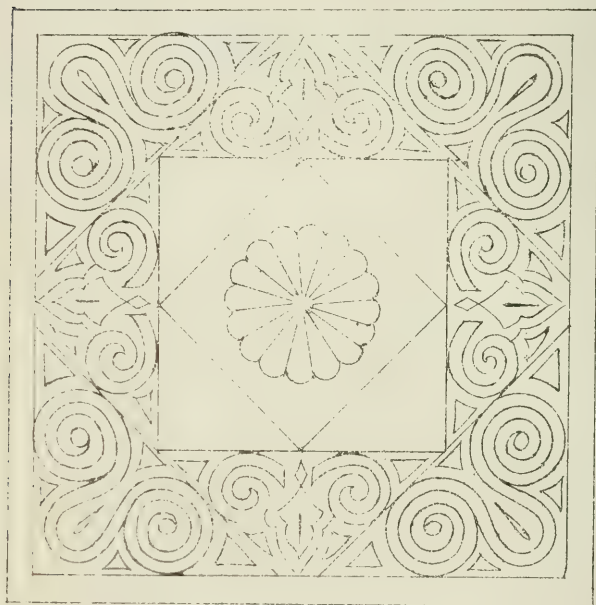


BUDDHIST CHAITYA

N.W. OF RAJ-SHAUT FORT.

OLD CHAITYA CEILING.

Scale 2 feet to linch.



PILLAR.

2 feet to linch.



forbidding. Mr. Horne spent a few rupees in cleaning the building, and in removing, as an experiment, the encrusted soot from some of the carvings. Fortunately the Mohammedans or the British Government authorities, we know not which, in their care for these beautiful works of art, have embedded them in mortar from base to capital, so that many of them might be restored. The removal of the encrustations, however, will have to be accomplished with the greatest care, or else the surface stone, rendered friable by the heat to which it has been subjected, will come away with the superimposed mortar, thereby destroying the delicate edge of the carvings. We trust the Government will not grudge a few hundred rupees for the thorough cleaning of this fine specimen of Buddhist architecture. The inner stone wall and the modern pavement should also be removed.

Besides these remains, there were, until quite recently, hundreds of stones lying about in the fort, bearing traces of great antiquity. In the mutiny, many of these were collected, and were made use of for the foundations of temporary barracks which were then erected. These stones may have once belonged to the vihar just described, when it existed in its integrity, but may also have been portions of other contemporaneous buildings situated in its vicinity.

During the mutiny, Mr. Tresham, by Government order, blew up some ancient buildings standing near the vihar, and there are yet the foundations of one, which defied all attempts at its destruction. Mr. Horne also remembers a chaitya which was removed to afford space for barracks.

### *Buddhist Chaitya No. I.*

A few hundred yards due north from the old gateway leading into the Raj Ghaut Fort is a mound of circumscribed extent, now used as a Mohammedan burial-ground, on the summit of which are the remains of an old Buddhist chaitya or temple. They consist simply of four pillars, richly carved with scroll-work, sustaining an ancient roof. At the corners of the shafts is the ordinary ornamentation resembling a chain of lotus seed-pods. The capitals are cruciform, and the bases are square with embellished faces. The ceiling is very beautifully sculptured, and is composed of slabs over-lapping one another, with the centre stone crowning the whole, according to the



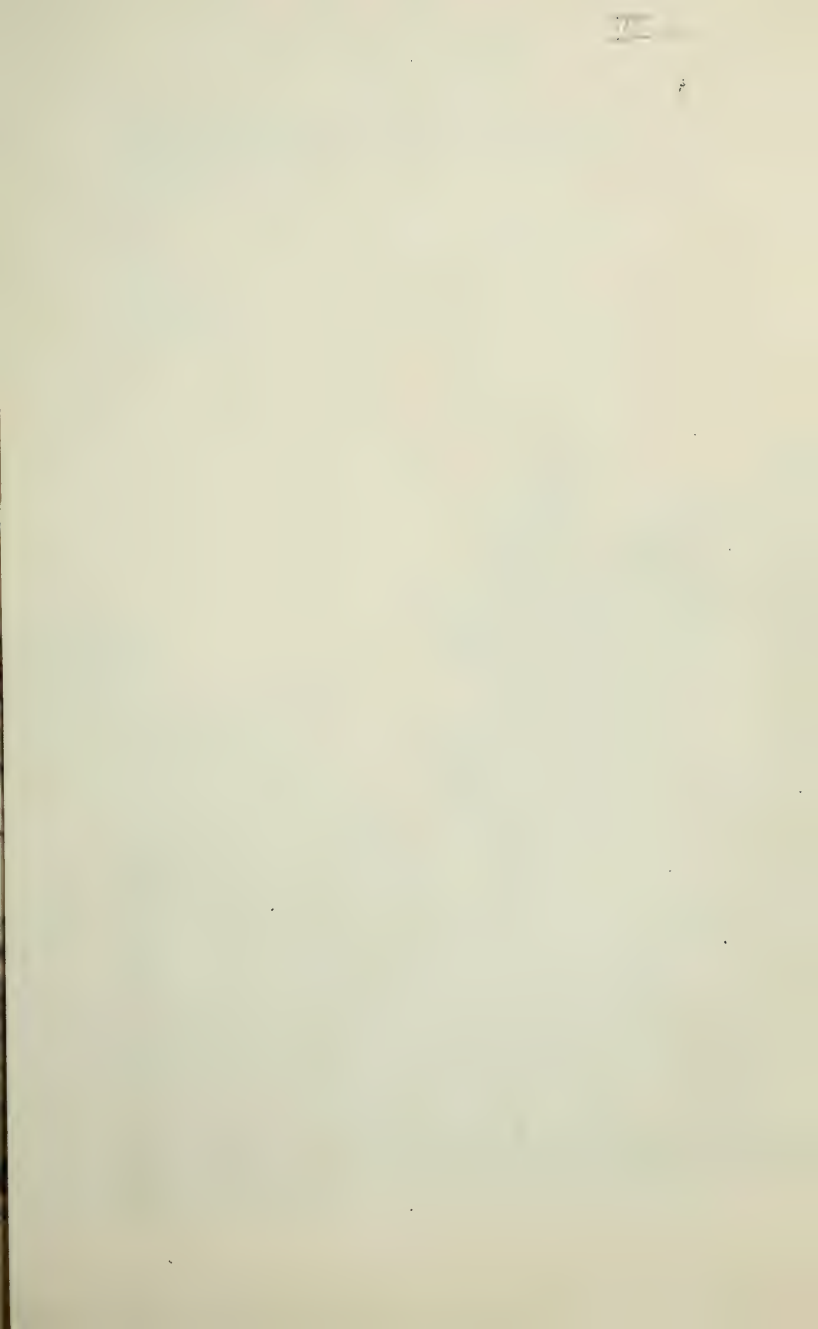
primitive mode of Indian roof-building. This latter stone exhibits the out-spread petals of a lotus blossom, while eight out of the twelve triangular spaces formed by the intersection of the slabs, are freely carved with the scroll-pattern. A few sculptured stones lie about the mound; amongst them is an erect figure of Buddha with garland and armlet, much mutilated. There are also three stone beams or architraves bearing the chess-board and spear-head patterns. In the small terrace likewise on which the chaitya stands, are inserted four carved stones, taken doubtless from some ancient building formerly in the neighbourhood. The occurrence of three or four plain cloister pillars of the usual form, adapted by the Mussulmans as head-stones for graves, together with the carved architraves already alluded to, would seem to indicate that a small cloister for monastic purposes must originally have stood upon this mound, which was then terraced, the stones of which have been by degrees removed both for building Mohammedan graves, and also for repairs in the Fort. •

*Small Mosque in the Budaon Mahalla.*

In the Budaon Mahalla near the Raj Ghaut Fort, a short distance south of the high road, there is a small mosque in an enclosure, made up to a great extent of ancient remains. The building seems to have been curtailed from its original dimensions, leaving a ruined portion still standing on its southern side. The entire structure contains seventeen stone pillars, eight of which exhibit ornamental carvings and probably belonged to a Buddhist chaitya. There are also eight capitals inserted in the walls without shafts and bases, and in addition there are fragments of other capitals in various places. None of these old remains are in situ. They were brought, most probably, from some temple in the neighbourhood, perhaps indeed from the mound occupied by the ruins of the Buddhist Chaitya No. I., which is not far off.

*Ancient Mound or Ridge running from the Burna, near its confluence, into the Adampura Mahalla.*

This very remarkable ridge extends for a long distance, and commences at the river Burna when at its flood. In the dry season therefore there is a stretch of low land lying between its extremity







*Photographed by W. Grant Esq.*

*J. Black & Co. Lithrs. Calcutta*

VIEW OF BUDDHIST VIHAR—RAJ GHAUT FORT.





in that direction and the bed of the stream itself. The ridge is manifestly an artificial work, and was originally intended either as a wall to the ancient city, or as a rampart thrown up against it and the neighbouring fort of Raj Ghaut. The latter supposition was that held by Mr. James Prinsep, who imagined that it was cast up by the Mohammedans in their attack upon Benares, and was specially directed against the fort. This supposition may be true, although it is difficult to perceive how it could have been of much service either in an attack on the fort or on the city, especially in a period when artillery was not in use. Had it reached as far as the river Ganges, we could understand how, by severing the fort from the city, it might have been a source of damage to both, but the south-western extremity is not near the Ganges by a third of a mile or perhaps more. We are inclined to think, however, that this extremity was once connected with that river, but at a time far more ancient than the Mohammedan conquest of India. On the whole, it appears not unlikely that this long embankment was the old boundary of the city in the early periods of its history, which was possibly employed for offensive purposes by the Mohammedans on the extension of the city to the south and south-west, and the consequent abandonment of this means of defence by the inhabitants. The embankment may have been originally carried on to the Ganges in a straight line with its present direction; or, making a short circuit, may have entered it by Tilia Nálá, on the banks of which are the remains of a Buddhist temple, which will be hereafter described. In this case, a portion of it must have been thrown down and swept away to make room for the growth of the city, and there is good ground for supposing that the city extended in a narrow band on the banks of the Ganges, about as far as the Man-mandil observatory, even before the Christian era. Should this idea be correct, it would follow that the most ancient site of the city of Benares was situated within the limits of this wall, stretching across from the Burna to the Ganges, cutting off a tongue of land as far as the confluence of the two rivers, and including the high land of the Raj Ghaut Fort, which was, in all probability, once well populated. The city must have been then of small extent, as compared with its existing dimensions, unless, as we

believe, and as it is almost indisputably certain, it crossed over to the right bank of the Burna.

That both sides of the river Burna were in former days better inhabited than at present, is somewhat corroborated by an examination of the ground on both sides. Brick debris is scattered about among the fields on the right bank of this stream, and old coins and broken stone images are occasionally found by the people, or are dug up by the plough; while on the other, or Benares side, not only are old remains found in the fort, but also below it on the lowland already referred to, blocks of stone, some of which are carved and exhibit ancient mason marks engraved upon them, are still to be seen. Moreover, it is stated in the Ceylon Annals that formerly the city surrounding Sarnath, (about three miles from the right bank of the Burna,) coalesced with or was a part of Benares, which, if true, must have been at a period of remote antiquity. Indeed, the allusion in these records is to an epoch long anterior to that of the historical Buddha or Sakya Muni, and therefore prior to the sixth century before Christ. This account must of course be received with much caution, and not as absolutely authentic history. At the same time, it is manifest that there was a tradition amongst the Buddhists of India, conveyed thence by their missionaries to Ceylon, that in remote ages the city of Benares extended to Sarnath.

In visiting this ridge or embankment, it will be observed that the high road leading to Raj Ghaut cuts right through it, the earth of the cutting being used to raise the road above the level of the country. It is well to remark too that where the road passes under the fort to the ghaut, the soil has been cut away to make room for it, so that formerly we may suppose that instead of a steep and almost precipitous wall which the elevated land to the east of the road now exhibits, the mound of the fort in this direction diminished in a gradual slope, terminating perhaps not far from Tilia Nálá.

The ridge is in one part formed of three terraces, the uppermost being perhaps thirty feet above the land, upon which elevated spot is the tomb of Míra Sahib. In the mutiny a large portion of the mound opposite the Fort was cut away for strategical reasons, although what is left is sufficient to prove of great service to an enemy attacking the fort.

On the south side of the ridge, in sight of Míra Sáhí's tomb, is an Imambara, a modern edifice, built altogether of new materials; and a few paces distant from it are two small structures, one in front of the other, which, although of recent erection, are partly composed of old materials. Each building possesses four ancient pillars of the Buddhist type, and lying about in various places are four pillars more, five *kulsees*, two architraves, and seven bases, one of the latter being richly carved. All these are the spoils of some ancient temple or monastery.

*Remains of Buddhist Chaitya, No. II., and Buddhist Monastery,  
No. II., at Tilia Nálá and Maqđum Sahib.*

We have chosen to unite these remains, and to speak of them under one head, because, although separated and standing in different Mahallas, yet they are near enough together to give rise to the supposition, that they may have been at one time connected. There is no question in our minds that at least one monastery stood in this neighbourhood, which is very rich in old carved fragments of stone scattered about amongst the walls and foundations of dwelling-houses and in divers other places. Perhaps it may be questioned whether the ruins at Tilia Nálá, now forming part of a deserted mosque, were originally a portion of a monastery or a portion of a temple, but our own opinion is in favour of the latter; yet even though this conjecture were true, it would still be probable that the temple was within the precincts of a large monastery and was considered to be a portion of it.

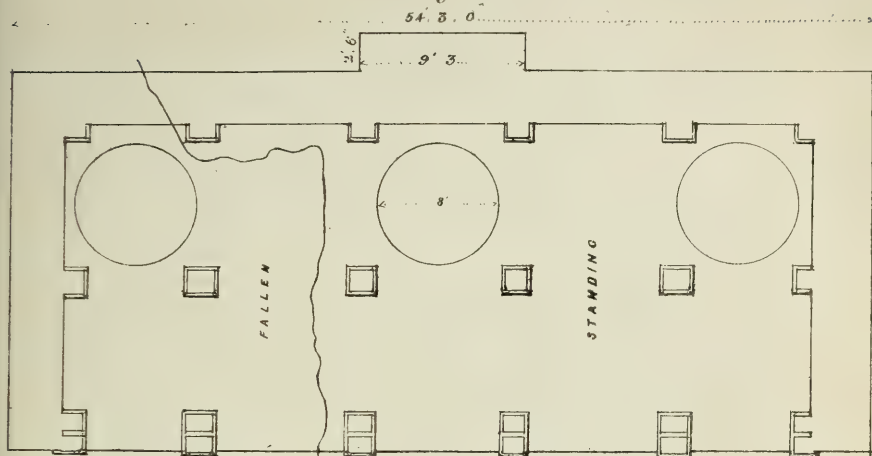
The remains at Tilia Nálá are immediately above the Nálá on the high ground of its left bank, a very short distance only from the point where it runs into the Ganges, and close to the main street under which the stream flows. The ruins not only overhang the brook, but there is no doubt that at one time they must have extended nearly, if not entirely, across its present bed. They consist of seventeen massive square columns in three rows, namely four double columns in the front row, four single ones in the second, and five in the third or innermost row. Between the third and fourth pillars of the last row is the Singhasan of Buddha, an immense slab of stone, nine feet three inches in length and five and a half in breadth, retreating beyond the boundary wall behind, into which all the pillars of

this row are inserted. There can be no dispute that the Singhasan was in the centre of the building, that is to say, that as there are three pillars to the right of it, there were as many to the left, in each of the three rows, the front row being of double pillars throughout. Re-constructing the edifice as it originally stood, therefore, there were one row of six double pillars, and two rows of six single pillars, or twenty-four pillars in all. Each capital is ornamented with the bell pendant, of which the Buddhists were so passionately fond, and which was after them much used by the Brahmins. The double columns are surmounted by one huge capital, five feet and a half in breadth, each of which possesses a long arm for the eaves stone. Over the two inner rows are two domes, one of which is above the Singhasan, and is more ornamented than the other. There must have been originally a third dome to the left of the central dome, corresponding to that on the right. Outside the building there is a fine basement moulding which doubtless belonged to the primitive structure. Estimating the building as it once stood, it was fully fifty-four feet in length and about twenty-four in breadth. The Mussulmans may have altered it considerably in transforming it into a mosque, but we apprehend that not a little of the old temple still remains. Some of the large stones have fallen into the Nálá or upon its banks, and others have not unlikely been made use of in the repairs of the bridge, and of its adjoining stone wall, so that we believe it would not be a difficult task to find nearly all the missing pillars and capitals.

The Maqdum Sahib is a square enclosure in the Gulzar Mahalla near to Tilia Nálá, used by the Mohammedans as a cemetery. On its northern and western sides are cloistered pillars, partially in situ, with portions of ancient stone eaves overhanging their capitals, presenting on their upper surface imitations of wood-carving. There are twenty-five pillars on the western side, and twenty-eight, or, if all could be seen, probably thirty-two, on the northern side. Several of the pillars are carved; while some of the capitals are ornamented, and some are double. There may be seen also handsomely carved stone brackets for the support of the eaves above alluded to. The eastern wall bounding the enclosure is evidently composed, to some extent, of cut stones of an ancient date. The entire court is one hundred feet long from east to west, and sixty feet broad from north to south.

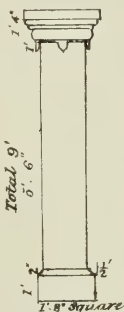
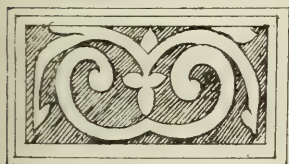
ROUGH PLAN  
OF  
TILIA NALA VIHAR CHAITYA

Scale 12 feet = 1 inch.

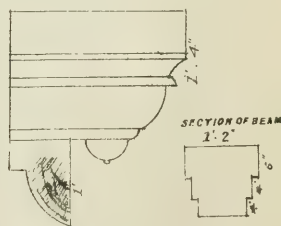


Enclosing-wall 3ft thick- with 9 inches of each pillar built into it  
Outside measurements. 54'-3".0. by 24". Between shafts of columns 8ft  
Double columns- capitals with long arm for eaves stories 5'.6" in one  
piece, size of all shafts 15 inches square

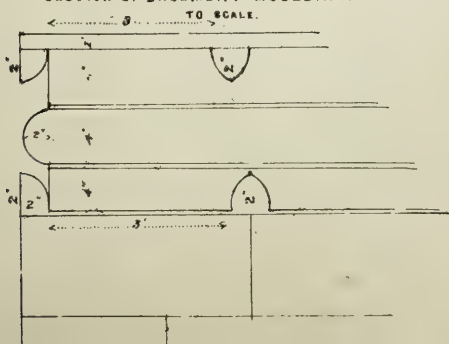
SCROLL ON CAPITAL.



PORTION OF CAPITAL  
LONG ARM OF DOUBLE CAPITAL.



SECTION OF BASEMENT MOULDING.







## SITE OF BUDDHIST VIHAR—No. III.

*Lát Bhairo.*

At the junction of the old Ghazeepore road with the Raj Ghaut road, to the north of the latter, and about a short mile from the fort, is a large square tank, on the left bank of which, as on a terrace, stands the *lát* or pillar, which gives the name to the spot. It is probably not more than three or four feet high inside, and is covered with copper sheeting. We endeavoured to prevail on the faqir residing here to permit us to lift up the copper cap, by removing the plaister which connects it with the flooring below, in order to gain a view of the stone pillar which it now conceals; but so great is the reputed sanctity of this object, that our united efforts were entirely fruitless, and had we persisted in them, a disturbance might have been occasioned. The original stone column, of which the concealed pillar is doubtless a small fragment, was about forty feet high, and, it is reported, was covered with ancient carvings, which were most probably inscriptions. This was thrown down by the Mahommedans during a terrible conflict with the Hindu population in the early part of the present century, when Mr. Bird was magistrate of the city. The natives say, that the pillar was thrown into the Ganges, but as that stream is half a mile off or more, this must have been done piecemeal. In all likelihood it was destroyed by fire, the action of which on sandstone soon causes it to crumble to pieces. As there is strong reason for believing that this was one of Asoka's pillars, it would be exceedingly interesting to inspect the remaining fragment, which we may fairly suppose to belong to the original column, and in that case to possess a portion of an inscription sufficient to verify its connexion with Asoka, or with the Guptas, or with the monarchs of any other era by whom the column was erected.

It is important in our present investigations to know that the pillar once stood in the midst of a temple, that is, in its courtyard, which temple was destroyed by Aurungzebe, and on its site a mosque was erected, the courtyard of which enclosed the pillar. On examining the terrace where the *Lat* stands, it is exceedingly manifest that the upper portion has been thrown up in modern times, and that the ancient level of the ground was some six or eight feet lower than

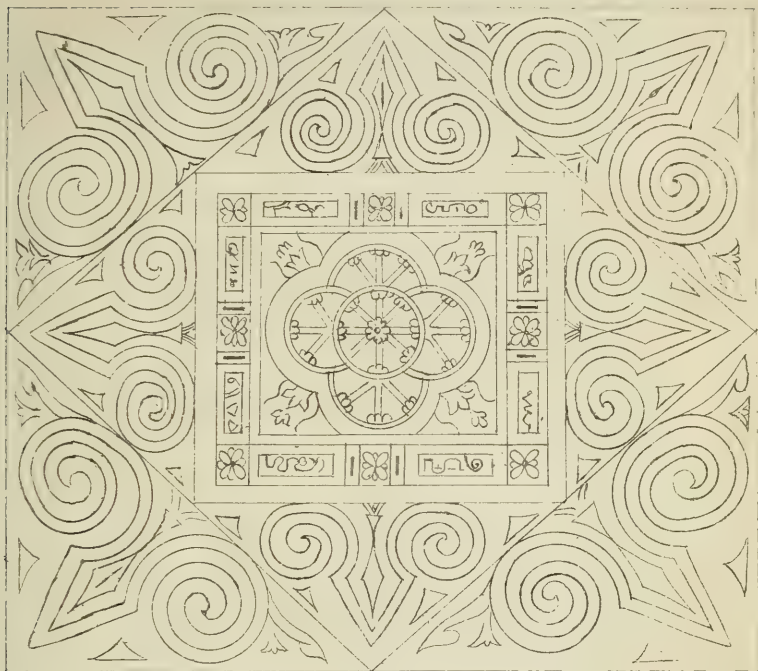
what it now is, and indeed was even with the soil of the Mahomedan cemetery close by, in the midst of which are a few Buddhist remains in the shape of pillars and architraves made up into a Mahomedan sepulchre. What this so-called temple was, admits of very little question, inasmuch as the boundary walls of the terrace and of the neighbouring cemetery and garden exhibit a considerable variety of isolated carved remains, sufficient to afford abundant attestation to the supposition that formerly a large Buddhist structure, most probably a monastery with a temple connected with it, stood on this site, covering the whole extent of the ground elevated above the tank on its northern side. Some of the carvings are in excellent preservation, and are worthy of being removed to the archaeological collection in the Government college grounds in Benares. There are several pillars embedded in the brickwork, and also a stone seven feet in length and one and a half in depth, which is deserving of special remark, as on its face are projected four magnificent bosses, each ten inches in diameter, with a projection of two inches from the surface of the stone. These bosses must have formed part of the decoration over the main entrance to the monastery.

Below the upper terrace on which the Lat stands, is, as already observed, a Mohammedan cemetery with a *Rauza* or tomb in the middle. This building rests upon sixteen pillars, each being eight feet two inches in height, and the architraves between their capitals being one foot two inches in thickness. In addition, there are five pillars in the verandah to the south. Some of the pillars are ornamented with scroll-work and the lotus plant, while their four corners are deeply cut with representations of the lotus seed-pod. One pillar has eight sides in its lowest division and sixteen in its upper, and has also a band of four grinning faces connected together, and under them a row of beaded garlands. The pillar is crowned with a round stone projecting two inches, on the face of which is a curious assemblage of thirty-two grotesque faces all round the edge of the stone, with beaded garlands and tassels depending, issuing from their mouths.

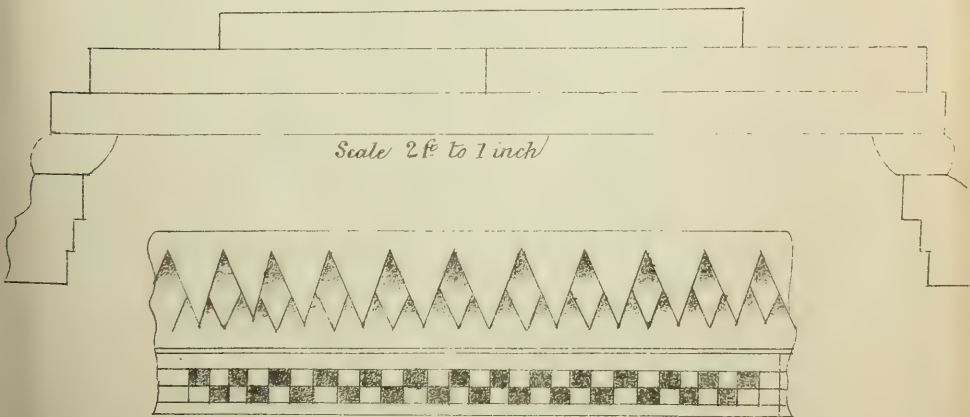
It should be mentioned, that if our conjecture, that the upper terrace has been only recently thrown up, be correct, then on the supposition that the fragmentary pillar on its summit is part of the original pillar which in ancient times stood here, it would follow that the

## BUDDHIST VIHAR-RAJ GHAUT FORT.

CEILING.

*Scale 2 ft to 1 inch*

SECTION OF CEILING.

*Scale 1 inch to 1 ft*

SECTION OF ROOF SLAB.

*showing side ornamentation.*





length of the existing fragment is equal to the depth of the terrace above the foundations of the neighbouring cemetery, in addition to its present elevation above the terrace, and to the extent of insertion of its lower extremity in the primitive but now subjacent soil. In this case, it would be not less than from fourteen to sixteen feet in length.

### BUDDHIST CHAITYA—No. III.

#### *Battis Khambha.*

About a third of a mile to the east of the Bakarya Kund Remains, is a beautiful little structure called by the natives Battis Khambha or thirty-two pillars. It is a very picturesque object as seen from the Raj Ghat road, from which it is some four hundred yards distant. It consists of a dome sustained by twenty-four square pillars, standing in pairs at intervals all round. Formerly each corner had four pillars, thus increasing the present number by eight, and then, of course, the entire number was thirty-two; but two from each corner have been removed, leaving the spaces occupied by them empty. All the upper part of the building is Mohammedan, while all the lower part is indisputably Buddhist in its style of architecture. On the western side is an abutment for the Singhasan of Buddha, similar to that which exists in the Chaitya at Bakarya Kund, and indeed, so far as our knowledge extends, in all *bonâ fide* Buddhist temples. The pillars stand upon a platform raised above the ground, and in the interior of the building is a Mohammedan tomb.

It is remarkable that there should be so many ancient remains lying almost in a straight line from Bakarya Kund to the Raj Ghat fort, yet most of the remains hitherto referred to, lie in this line. We have no doubt that formerly a large number of Buddhist buildings existed between these two extremes, and that the foundations of some of them might be discovered, if a keen search were instituted, in addition to the more prominent remains already brought to notice. It seems evident therefore that there was a road here during the Buddhist period, not far removed from the track of the present one. This road was at right angles to another proceeding from Bakarya Kund in the direction of Sarnath, which still exists. Search might be made along this road for the foundations of ancient buildings and

for Buddhist relics, as there can be no doubt that constant communication was kept up by the monks of Sarnath with Bakarya Kund, in both which places there were vast monastic edifices and numerous temples.

Near this Chaitya and between it and Bakarya Kund is a small building standing by the road side, in which are several pillars of the most ancient type inserted into the containing walls. They have been very probably brought from Bakarya Kund. The building has an unpretending appearance, and is kept whitewashed by the Moham-medans, its proprietors.

#### BUDDHIST VIHAR—No. IV.

##### *Arhai Kangura Mosque.*

It is not our purpose thoroughly to describe this handsome structure, which is one of the finest mosques in the whole city, and is situated in the Mahalla bearing its own name. Its magnificent and lofty dome, as well as various parts of the mosque itself, unquestionably exhibit a Mohammedan style of architecture, but we have no hesitation in saying that by far the greater portion of the building, and certainly five-sixths of its materials, belong to an epoch far more distant than the Mahommedan invasion. The numerous square columns with their cruciform capitals, and also the screens between some of them in the upper story, are of Buddhist workmanship; but we are inclined to think that both Buddhists and Hindus have made use of the same materials in different eras, and that in fact the mosque is a mixture of three styles, namely Buddhist, Hindu, and Mohammedan. The first edifice was, we believe, a monastery, with (most probably) one or more temples attached; but it is hard to say whether any portion of the original building exists in situ, and we have not sufficiently examined it to be able to pronounce a decided opinion on the point. Our conviction, however, is that certain leading characteristics of the first structure were perpetuated by the Hindus in that which they raised on the departure, or rather expulsion, of the Buddhists from Benares. It is not easy to determine accurately what this Hindu building was, but perhaps it is more likely to have been a math or a sort of monastery or religious house for Hindu ascetics, such as exist in the land at the present day, than a temple. In the

roof of the second story of the mosque a slab was discovered bearing a long Sanscrit inscription, towards the end of which is the date 1248, which, regarded as Sambat, is equivalent to A. D. 1190. The inscription itself is of no particular importance, except that it abounds with references to the Hindu religion, showing that it belonged to a building erected by a Hindu, and therefore subsequent to the Buddhist period. It alludes also to certain tanks, temples, and maths, erected and embellished in and about Benares, which of course were all in honour of Hinduism. It is not unlikely indeed that these structures were erected and this inscription was written with somewhat of a religio-political object, to testify to the triumph which Hinduism had then recently gained over Buddhism; for there is good ground for believing that the buildings at Sarnath were not burnt, and the monks were not expelled therefrom, till about the twelfth century of our era. We have obtained a copy of the inscription in Sanscrit, with a translation into Hindí, through the kindness of Babu Shio Parshad, Joint Inspector of Schools, whose intelligence, enterprise, and extensive knowledge place him in the front rank of native gentlemen in these provinces.

We would direct especial attention to the small side door or postern with its massive wall, to the right of the building, which has a great appearance of originality, and also to two noble capitals of gigantic dimensions, lying in the court-yard in front of the mosque and turned into small cisterns. They are the largest carved capitals we have found anywhere.

#### HINDU TEMPLE OF KIRT BISHESHWAR.

##### *Ālamgírí Mosque.*

Near the temple of Briddhkál, one of the very few Hindu temples of the earlier Mohammedan period still standing in Benares not appropriated by the Mussalmans, and a few paces from the well-known shrine of Rattaneshwar, is a mosque spoken of in the neighbourhood as the Ālamgírí Masjid, which was erected during the reign of Aurungzebe or Ālamgír, and was designated after that emperor. Upon it may be read the following inscription in Arabic:—

قول وجهك شطر المسجد الحرام  
سنة ١٠٧٧ هـ چري

The translation of which is, "Turn your face towards the sacred mosque. 1077 Higira," or A. D. 1659.

The mosque is built, tradition states, from the materials of the Hindu temple of Kirt Bisheshwar, and has three rows of lofty stone pillars, eight in each row; but the pillars at both extremities are not single, but three-fold. The capitals are large and massive, and are cruciform in shape. In the centre of each shaft, upon all the four sides, is the boss ornamentation, each boss being fully a foot in diameter. The pillars have a double base, a false and a true, the one consisting of the lower end of the shaft, the other, the true base, of a separate stone. Both are covered with carvings. Some of the architraves also bear upon them the boss pattern; but it is possible that these were formerly shafts of pillars. The inner wall of the mosque is likewise of stone. Viewed from behind, many of the blocks display various mason marks inscribed upon them.

From an examination of the marks or symbols, and of the architecture represented by the remains now briefly described, there is no reason for supposing that the temple which once stood here, and which was levelled to the ground by Aurungzebe, was of great antiquity. The style of architecture has a Buddhist basis, yet is not purely Buddhist, and the symbols are not necessarily Buddhist at all. We should be inclined to fix the date of the Hindu temple at some five or six centuries ago. It must have been a place of great sanctity, as many Hindus still visit the spot on pilgrimage, and instead of an image (which we suppose the Mohammedans would not allow them to put up) worship the spout of a fountain rising up in the centre of a small tank in the court-yard of the mosque. It is not improbable that the tank is the site of the old temple; but if the temple was a large one, as is likely, it must have occupied not only a considerable portion of the present courtyard but also some ground in addition on either side. A few persons perform their devotions in the tank daily, but the grand festival is at the *Shio rát mela*, for one day in March, when crowds throng reverently around the sacred spout, and present it (or perhaps regarding it as a god, they would say *him*, or *her*,) with abundant offerings, all of which, down to the last rupee, are received by the Mullah of the mosque, who thinks, we suppose, that if he winks at the idolatry, which in fact he cannot put down, he may as well be paid handsomely for it.



Attached to the mosque is a corridor, built a few years later, on the inner wall of which is the following inscription:—

ز حکم شاه سلطان شریعت \* شهاب آسمان سرفرازی  
 دلیل زهد برهان طریقت \* محمد شاه عالمگیر غازی  
 سر اصنام بت خانه شکسته \* ظهور مسجد دلخواه گشته  
 باستصواب نورالله صفتی \* بناء خانقاه هست پیدا  
 غلام درگه پیران چشتی \* زدولتخانه تاریخش هویدا  
 سنه ۱۰۹۶ هجری

In noticing the remains of the Kirt Bisheshwar temple, we are aware that they do not come under the designation of “old” or “ancient,” as applied to other remains described in this paper, and yet, as they are not without interest, we have given them a place in it.

#### BUDDHIST CHAITYA—No. IV.

##### *Chaukhambha Mosque.*

The long Chaukhambha street in the city of Benares, in or about which most of the great bankers have their houses of business, takes its name from four low massive pillars of modern erection, standing in the lowermost story of a lofty building, the weight of which they entirely sustain, situated towards its north-eastern extremity. There is a narrow court running out of this street, which terminates in a small enclosure, on the further side of which is a mosque. The entire enclosure has a very remarkable appearance, and, for the archaeologist, is a place of considerable interest. The entrance is by a doorway let into a huge breastwork or wall formed of blocks of stone, which is twenty feet long, thirteen feet high, and four feet thick, and is constructed for the most part systematically, as is evident from the ornamentation on one stone answering to that on the stone contiguous to it. Over the doorway is an inscription in Arabic. But with the exception of this doorway and the castellated appearance crowning the wall, there is nothing Mohammedan in its architecture.

The mosque and corridor adjoining it are supported by twenty-four pillars, of which six are double. The capitals are of the simple cruciform pattern, and their outer limbs are decorated with the dwarf bell ornamentation. To the south of this building is a staircase



leading up to the roof, built of heavy stones; and along the south side of the enclosure, for the space of about twenty-five feet, is a low stone wall six feet in height, and, attached to it, a peculiar ledge three feet from the ground. It is known that a similar wall exists on the north side also, but hidden from view.

In our judgment most of the pillars are in situ, and originally formed part of a Buddhist structure, but whether of a temple or of a monastery, it is difficult to say. Our opinions are divided on the subject, and the former has been assigned to the building by way of a heading to this chapter. The wall with the projecting bench is very curious. The latter may have been used by the priests or monks for reclining upon.

#### BUDDHIST VIHÁR—No. V.

##### *Aurungzebe's Mosque near Bisheshwar Temple.*

The mosque built by the emperor Aurungzebe on the foundations of what is commonly regarded, though erroneously, as the old or original Bisheshwar temple, is of interest not for its own sake—for notwithstanding its lofty appearance, it is a structure without any striking beauty in its own right—but for the sake of the ancient buildings with which it is associated, and with the materials of which it has been largely constructed. The courtyard consists of a terrace raised some five feet above the level of the temple quadrangle, in the centre of which it is situated, and occupying a large portion of the area. On walking round the quadrangle and examining the retaining wall of the terrace, one's attention is arrested by peculiar openings or niches in the wall, in which architraves, and capitals, and parts of pillars on which they rest, are visible, but in some places the openings are filled with earth almost up to the level of the capitals. Proceeding from west to east, the ground gradually declines, until, after descending four steps and arriving opposite a large stone bull or Nándi, the opening in the terrace becomes clear, and a cloister, such as surrounds a Buddhist vihá, comes into view, and reveals the character of the entire series. It consists of a small chamber sustained by genuine Buddhist pillars, severely simple in their type, and without doubt of great antiquity. Formerly a succession of such cloisters encompassed not less than three sides of the existing terrace, which

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must consequently date from the same epoch. It would be desirable, if the consent of the Mohammedans could be obtained, to remove the external wall by which these cloisters have become almost completely hidden, in order to ascertain what is their extent and condition.

This series of cloisters formed the lowermost story of a large Buddhist monastery, which once enclosed the entire space occupied by the terrace, and rose to the height of probably two or three stories above it. On the southern side stood the chief chaitya or temple, which, on the suppression of Buddhism, passed into the hands of the advocates of another religion, who transformed it according to their own tastes. The mosque on this side is altogether composed of the remains of an ancient temple of large dimensions, and of very elaborate workmanship. The high pillars, moreover, on its northern face have been abstracted from the same spacious building. These remains are partly Hindu, and it is unquestionable that the edifice which was destroyed in order to make way for the mosque, was an old temple of Bisheshwar. An excellent ground plan of this temple, prepared from a minute examination of the existing remains, was drawn by Mr. James Prinsep, and published by him in his "Views of Benares." These remains, however, are only partially Hindu. Some portions, judging from the elaborate ornamentation of certain details which it was the custom of the Buddhist architects to leave plain, seem to be of Jain origin, and to have been appropriated by the builders of the Hindu temple. If this supposition be correct, the mosque with its terrace exhibits a singular architectural anomaly, and presents us with no less than four styles, namely Buddhist, Jain, Hindu and Mohammedan. Indeed it would not be wrong to add a fifth style, for the square terrace pillars with their cruciform capitals are so simple in structure, that, compared with the highly carved and decorated pillars of mediæval and later Buddhist history, they belong to another style, which may be called early Buddhist or Hindu, according to which of these two ancient religious communities is supposed to have invented it. It is not our object to discuss the interesting and also important topic, who were the first Indian sculptors and builders of permanent works, yet it is one which must one day, when materials have been sufficiently accumulated, which they have not been at present, be thoroughly investigated.

When this is settled, the antiquity and origin of these terrace pillars will be settled likewise.

### BUDDHIST VIHÁR—No. VI.

#### *Ád-Bisheshwar Temple and neighbouring Mosque.*

Ád-Bisheshwar is the name of a lofty temple situated a short distance from Aurungzebe's mosque just referred to, and in sight of it, and is held to be, by some persons, the original or most ancient temple of this deity. The derivation of its name only bears out this supposition, for the temple itself, from the pinnacle to the base, has nothing really ancient about it. On the eastern side of the enclosure the ground takes a sudden rise of eighteen feet, forming a terrace manifestly of artificial construction. On this side there is a retaining wall of stone masonry, which is wanting on the southern side of the terrace, where there is only an earthen bank. The other two sides of the terrace are covered with buildings, which prevent the exact ascertainment of its boundary in these directions. On that flank which is contiguous to the Ád-Bisheshwar enclosures, stands a mosque erected some eighty years ago or less, but not finished then, for want of money. It was built of stones found on the spot, with new Chunar slabs added. The terrace existed before with the buttress, and is evidently of ancient construction.

The building is in two divisions, each of which is  $23\frac{1}{2}$  feet in length, connected together by a massive wall  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet thick, composed of large blocks of stone. This wall projects considerably beyond the building into the courtyard to the east, and has the appearance of a huge buttress; but what its object is, seeing that the mosque, which is entirely of stone, is amply sustained by its columns and walls, and requires no such additional support, it is hard to say. Possibly the buttress is pierced with a staircase, leading formerly to an upper story which the buttress supported, and the Mohammedan architects, not caring to remove the massive prop, have retained it in the mosque. They appear, moreover, to have confined themselves chiefly to materials lying upon the spot, as in three places carved pillars, similar to those sustaining the centre aisle, have been adopted as architraves. There are fourteen columns in the interior of the mosque, which are peculiarly but not extensively carved, and are crowned with orna-

mented capitals. The western wall is strengthened externally by three rounded buttresses, which are of the Pathan dynasty, like those found at Jaunpore, and were built at the same time. They did not exist in the Buddhist period, and were added as much for ornament as strength. All the mosques about old Delhi have them.

There is no doubt in our minds that the *Ad-Bisheshwar* temple stood on this site, and was destroyed by the Mohammedans, who, as usual, transferred its stones to their own mosque. The neighbouring temple bearing this name, the Hindus built, with the kind permission of their friends, the Mohammedans, of course, for the purpose of perpetuating the worship and the honour of their old idol, *Ad-Bisheshwar*. Yet, while allowing that the edifice standing on the site of the present mosque when the Mohammedans took possession of it, was the temple of *Ad-Bisheshwar*, we are nevertheless equally certain that the primitive building was of a Buddhist character. We were inclined at one time to imagine that, from its proximity to the Buddhist Vihár No. V., it must have been a part of that monastery, but two reasons have led us to abandon that idea. One is, that a separate terrace of extensive dimensions was appropriated to this structure, whatever it was, and that between this terrace and that of No. V., the ground is depressed corresponding to the depression of all the neighbouring soil; and the second is, that the style of architecture of the ancient buildings upon or around the two terraces, differs exceedingly. We are led to conjecture, therefore, that the original structure was a Buddhist monastery, but later in date by several hundred years than the first monastery erected on the terrace No. V. It was of course a quadrangle, encompassing the four sides of the terrace. Nothing remains of it except the massive transverse wall with the buttress, and the lower portion of the retaining wall. The mosque has been erected perhaps on the site of the principal cloister of the monastery, its second division occupying the position of a smaller cloister. The amount of stone material expended on the present comparatively small building is preposterously great, and in itself is a proof that an edifice of much larger dimensions formerly stood here.



## STONE PILLAR.

*Soná-ká-Talao.*

Before closing this paper, we would direct attention to a stone pillar standing in the midst of a tank between the city of Benares and the Buddhist remains at Sarnath. The tank is called Soná-ká-Talao, or the Golden Tank, and is situated on the opposite side of the river Burna, near the road which branches off from the high road leading to Ghazeepore, and almost close to the point of its junction with several other roads. The road is a portion of the Panch-kosi or sacred boundary of Benares. Proceeding along it for somewhat less than a mile, you arrive at the tank, which is to the right of it, and is approached by a strong and well built ghaut, on which are several Buddhist figures, brought most probably from Sarnath. It is three hundred yards in length, and one hundred and forty in breadth. In the midst of it is a round pillar, eighteen feet high and upwards of nine in circumference, composed of great blocks of stone cut in quadrants and put together without cement or mortar. There is no inscription on the pillar, and no mason marks, so that we have been totally unable to assign any date, even approximately, to its erection. Its base is always, we believe, surrounded by water; yet it would be worth while to ascertain whether any inscription exists below. We probed it to its foundations, but found no face for an inscription. It is likely that both the pillar has somewhat sunk, and that formerly the tank was less choked with mud than it is now. In appearance therefore the pillar was once higher than at the present time. It was probably surmounted formerly by a lion or some other figure, and on close examination bears marks of extreme old age.

Besides allusions to a few other ancient structures, we have in this paper traced out remains, more or less abundant, of six Buddhist vihárs or monasteries and four Buddhist chaityas or temples, still existing in Benares, and have pointed out the sites on which they stood or are still standing. Add to these the remains at Bakarya Kund already described in a former paper, and we have the remains of seven monasteries and at the least seven chaityas. The monasteries are doubtless a portion of the thirty monasteries and upwards which Hwan Thsang, the Chinese traveller



of the seventh century, said existed in Benares in his day. In conclusion, we may remark that we are much inclined to believe that many of the ancient Buddhist monasteries, and of the temples also, were on a line of road leading from Bakarya Kund to Raj Ghaut Fort in one direction; on a second line, at right angles to this, running from Bakarya Kund to Sarnath; and on a third, proceeding from the site of Aurungzebe's mosque and joining one or both the others, possibly, at Bakarya Kund, and that hereabouts most of other remains of such buildings, if found at all, will be discovered.

*Note by the Rev. M. A. Sherring.*

Since the above was written, I have visited and examined the country lying on the banks of the Ganges to the *north* of the river Burna. To my utter astonishment, though I must confess, not contrary to my anticipation, I found brick and stone debris scattered over the fields for, as far as I could conjecture, five miles or thereabouts. In many places the rubbish lies thick upon the ground, choking up the soil, and to a large extent the deposit can be traced continuously. Here and there small bits of sculptured stone are visible, and occasionally, where the broken bricks and stones are in very great abundance, they have been collected into ridges or small mounds. This is especially manifest at the termination of the deposit at a spot called Patharaká Siwáu, where, in ancient times, doubtless stood a large fort, of which the foundations may even now be partially traced. Although the fields beyond this point seem to be clear of rubbish, yet further on, at Muskábád, at the distance of a mile, it recommences and becomes as thick as in any other place. Perhaps this latter was the site of an outlying town.

But what are we to say of these remains? They lie immediately on the great river's bank, and never retreat from it more than three quarters of a mile. It is, I think, very evident that all the way from the mouth of the Burna this bank has been, with the lapse of centuries, considerably cut away. Indeed, I believe, that as much as a quarter of a mile may have gone into the river. In all probability therefore the space covered by debris was much broader than it is at present. There can be no question, however, that here a great city once stood. I have no hesitation in expressing my belief that in the

entire absence of any *bonâ fide Hindu* remains in the present city of Benares, dating from even the Buddhist period, not to speak of the pre-Buddhist epoch, when we know from historical records that Benares was in existence, the ancient city of the pre-Buddhist and early Buddhist eras must have occupied this site. Beyond the northern extremity of the remains of the ancient city is a series of mounds also covered with debris, tending in a north-westerly direction, where formerly forts or towns existed. I think it not unlikely that in a far distant age the connexion of the ancient city of Benares with Sarnath was along the course of these mounds. Sarnath is spoken of in the Ceylon records as though it may have been a city of itself; and there is no doubt that it is referred to in ancient documents as a part of Benares. Now, modern Benares is at least one-third of a mile to the south of the Burna, whereas Sarnath is out in the country about three miles to the north of that stream. If we suppose, however, that Benares, in its most ancient period, was mainly on the north side of the Burna likewise, and if such supposition is corroborated by extensive remains of ancient buildings in the shape of brick and stone debris stretching over several miles of country, as already shown, and terminating in mounds lying in the direction of Sarnath, the proof approaches to demonstration that in that early epoch a union, more or less intimate, existed between Sarnath and Benares, as stated by historical records. I had no opportunity to examine thoroughly the country lying between these remains and Sarnath, but I feel satisfied that at some point in these remains a line of debris would be found connecting the two spots, with only a few breaks in its course, the debris indicating the former existence of solid buildings and being the broken remains of the same. This point must not be searched for at the southern extremity of the ancient city, but at the northern extremity; and perhaps the line of junction may be the line of the mounds just now referred to; but of this I am not able to speak positively.

If these observations respecting the site of the early city be correct, it would follow that the derivation of the word Benares, as the city lying between the Burna and the Assi, is utterly absurd, as applied to the most ancient city. That it is a correct derivation of the word, as denoting the city of modern times even as far back as the Gupta dynasty, and perhaps somewhat further, I have not the smallest

doubt. But Banár-assi has nothing whatever to do with ancient Benares, and as applied to it would be a ludicrous misnomer. It seems, indeed, probable that the Buddhists were the first people to occupy to any extent the southern side of the Burna, and such a notion is remarkably substantiated by the existence of various Buddhist remains there, as described in this paper; but none of them, so far I know, date from earlier than the Gupta period. The Panchkosi road or sacred boundary of modern Benares, nearly fifty miles in extent, and regarded by many natives as of immense antiquity, is no older than the city which it encompasses, and must also be assigned to a comparatively recent date. Many pleasant and perhaps hallowed associations connected with Benares, as it now stands, will in the minds of multitudes be in danger of being snapped asunder, when they discover that the Benares of to-day was not the Benares which their forefathers knew.



*Assyro-Pseudo-Sesostris.*—By HYDE CLARKE, Esq. Member of the German Oriental Society, of the Society of Northern Antiquaries of Copenhagen, of the Academy of Anatolia, of the Institution of Engineers of Vienna, Local Secretary of the Anthropological Society.

[Received 13th July, 1865. Read 2nd August, 1865.]

As the monument near Ninfi (the ancient Nymphaeum), and twenty miles from Smyrna, has of late years become a subject of some controversy, I have been very desirous of getting it photographed, and at length this has been effected (Plate XXI.) by the zeal and ability of Mr. Alexander Svoboda, an artist doubtless remembered by many members of the Society for his paintings of Indian scenes, and his having first photographed the caves of Elephanta and the monument of Ctesiphon, as he has latterly those of Ephesus.

Herodotus, in his second book, as is well known, speaks of the foreign wars and expeditions of Sesostris, and says that he erected various monuments of his victories, of which Herodotus had seen one in Syria, and there were two others in Ionia, one on the road from Sardis to Smyrna, and the other on the road from Ephesus to Phocaea, and that

the figures, four cubits and a spathamus high, held a bow in one hand and a lance in the other.

The words of Herodotus are :—

“The pillars which Sesostris erected in the conquered countries, have for the most part disappeared, but in the part of Syria called Palestine, I myself saw them still standing, with the writing above-mentioned, and the emblem distinctly visible. In Ionia also, there are two representations of this prince engraved upon rocks, one on the road from Ephesus to Phocæa, the other between Sardis and Smyrna. In each case the figure is that of a man, four cubits and a span high, with a spear in his right hand and a bow in his left, the rest of his costume being likewise half Egyptian, half Ethiopian. There is an inscription across the breast from shoulder to shoulder, in the sacred character of Egypt, which says, “With my own shoulders I conquered this land.” The conqueror does not tell who he is, or whence he comes, though elsewhere Sesostris records these facts. Hence it has been imagined by some of those who have seen these forms, that they are figures of Memnon, but such, as I think so, err very widely from the truth.”

Diodorus Siculus repeats the like, and says there was an inscription in hieroglyphics on the monument, of which he gives the translation.

As the monument near Ninfi agrees with the description of Herodotus, it is generally believed to be Egyptian, to bear a hieroglyphic inscription, and to be the Sesostris. As will be seen, there are traces of characters on the right hand corner, though what, cannot be made out. They are exceedingly unlike any hieroglyphic inscription, which will carry the meaning of Diodorus, and the rock is too soft for the minute characters of the hieroglyphic ever to have been carved upon it. It would not bear even the ring of the cartouche.

Who first doubted its Egyptian character, we have not the means here of knowing, but at any rate the geographers Kiepert and Carl Ritter have done so, and in their works the monument is figured as “Pseudo-Sesostris,” and is placed with the Assyrian class.

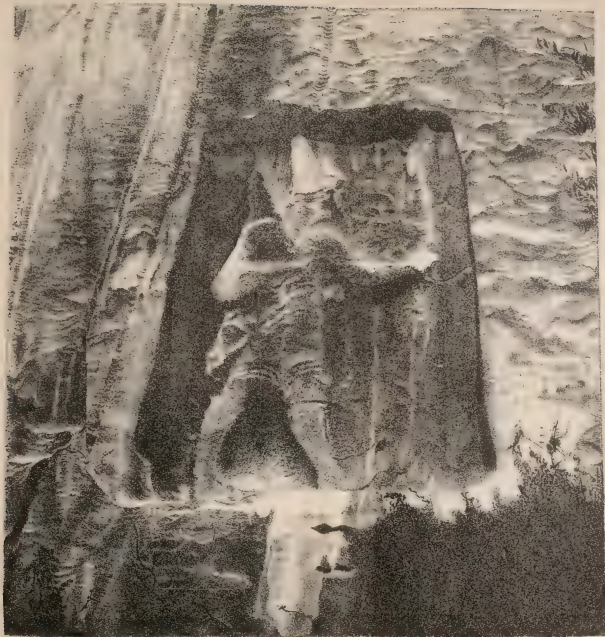
Unaware of this, some years ago, I visited the monument and arrived at the same conclusions, and I have since endeavoured to obtain the opinions of competent authorities in Europe. This corre-



From a Phot







From a Photo by A. Seoboda

Drawn on Stone at the Govt School of Art, Calcutta by Kamakha Churn Ghose, Student

FIGURE OF SESOSTRIS AT NINPI

WITH BY W. NIVEN SURVEYOR GENERAL'S OFFICE CALCUTTA AUGUST, 1886



spondence made me more urgent to get it correctly reproduced, and it is satisfactory that at length it can be examined by all interested in the subject, instead of the very few who could reach Ninfi.

It is reasonably to be doubted whether Herodotus ever saw this monument, because he has not described it with absolute accuracy.

The monument is quite off the road or any high road, and is a very unlikely place for a public monument of Sesostris. It is on a friable rock, and it is a miracle it has been preserved so many centuries. It was perhaps attached to the country palace of some king or satrap, or it may commemorate a battle fought in the glen. It does not bear the appearance of having been an object of adoration.

Its class is not distinctly Assyrian, for it wants the sharp touch of those workmen, and it must always have been of rude appearance.

It is allied to the Assyrian, and is the production of some people of Assyrian character.

The question arises, whether this monument and the neighbouring Niobe, and the other rock-cut pictures, are the works of settled inhabitants, or of an invading or conquering race. The latter seems to be the preferable hypothesis, because in this district, even in the time of Herodotus, there cannot have been more than three, and there are few scattered over the country. Those in this district most probably belonged to some petty kingdom.

With regard to their epoch, they are certainly as old as the Egyptian cities in their neighbourhood. These cities there form a close group, Smyrna, Tantalus, Sipylus and Nymphæum, attesting at one time a population of large and strong cities and a relative civilization.

These cities, as well from identity of remains with those in the South of Europe, as well from the identity of names with those of the Iberian nations, as well as from the fact of their population having endured beyond the Hellenic invasion, I place as anterior to that epoch, and as Iberian in character. This subject I have treated at length in a detailed memoir read before the Academy of Anatolia, the Ethnological Society, and the British Association.

The rock-cut monuments must, to some extent, have preceded the Iberian occupation, or may have been the result of an invasion during that period, proceeding from Cilicia and the south east, that is, from the Semitic district.

As yet the elements for the determination of these pre-historical questions are very few. They are indeed hardly known, and we are not yet in a situation to judge of the ethnology, the monuments, or the mythology either of an earlier or a later age.

There are two elements in particular that exercised a great influence over this region, that have not been adequately studied, the Iberian and the Caucaso-Tibetan. The remarkable discovery of Mr. B. H. Hodgson, communicated to your Society, of a connection between the tribes of the Caucasus and those of the Himalaya and its valleys, opens up new views as to the history of Central and Western Asia, and will in time afford one of the keys for unlocking their secrets, not less valuable perhaps than those applied to hieroglyphics or cuneiform.

I was led by a like train of investigations with Mr. Hodgson to the like results, and I am glad to find that what I have done, has been in confirmation of such an authority. I lately communicated a paper on this subject to the Asiatic Society of London, with the hope of inviting other inquiries.

It is perhaps by means of the Caucaso-Tibetan, that we shall obtain a knowledge of the early history of Iranistan, of the influences which have affected so peculiarly the early Indo-Europeans, the Armenians, the Ossetes and the Koords, of the third arrow-headed, and the Lycian.

It is here we shall perhaps find another element in the determination of mythology, though so far as the mythology of these regions is concerned, and particularly its local character, Iberian sources must be searched. It is there we must seek for the explanation of much of the mythology, and not in Sanskrit sources, however plausible such explanations may appear.

The Hellenes found a mythology ready made for them in the Iberian countries, in which they settled, and they adopted Iberian terms. To a certain extent, they brought with them Indo-European dogmas, and here Sanskrit philology will help us; but the local colony is Iberian. This western country of Asia Minor was, in fact, the seat of mythology and the land of the gods, before the Hellenes appeared. In some cases an Indo-European legend may have been attached to a local site, but the Hellenes borrowed more than they gave.

The Sesostris I propose to designate *Assyro-Pseudo-Sesostris*.



*Notes on some of the temples of Kashmir, especially those not described by General A. CUNNINGHAM, in his Essay published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for September, 1848.—By W. G. COWIE, M. A., Chaplain on duty in Kashmir, during the summer of 1865.*

[Received 1st December, 1865.]

In these notes I have followed as nearly as possible the wording of General Cunningham, in his description of the different temples, which he visited in Kashmir.

The temples of Bhaniyar, Waugat, Manusbal, Narayan Thal, Futtehghur, Dyamun, and Lidar do not seem to have been described before. What I have said about those of Pandrethan, the Takht, Pathan, Avantiswami, and Marttand, is meant to be supplementary to General Cunningham's accounts of those temples.

#### BHANIYAR.

The buildings at Bhaniyar consist of a lofty central edifice, standing in a large quadrangle, surrounded by a colonnade of fluted pillars with intervening trefoil-headed recesses.\* The ground plan of the temple is a square of  $26\frac{1}{2}$  feet with pilasters at the corners, 4 feet in thickness. The interior is a square of  $13\frac{1}{2}$  feet, and the walls are therefore  $6\frac{1}{2}$  feet thick, which proportion may be considered a strong proof, according to General Cunningham's† theory, of the antiquity of the building.

The roof was pyramidal, and the total height of the temple, estimated at twice its breadth, would be 53 feet. The lowest stones of the pyramid remain in some places, and their external slope is parallel to that of the sides of the pediments over the doorways. The only entrance to the temple is gained by a broad and lofty flight of steps to the N. N. W. On each of the other sides there is a porch containing a closed doorway.

These porches are just the same as that of the entrance, each being  $16\frac{5}{8}$  feet wide, with a projection of one foot in advance of the corner pilasters.

\* See Photograph, No. I.\*

† See Cunningham, p. 249, para. 6.

\* The photographs referred to in this paper are by Messrs. Sheppard and Bourne of Simlah.—ED.

The doorways are surmounted by trefoiled arches, 23 feet high; and the latter are covered by pyramidal pediments, resting on independent pilasters. Within the large trefoiled arches, there are smaller pyramidal pediments, of which the tympanum is occupied with the trefoiled decoration, like that at Bhaumajo,\* resting on the architrave covering the pilasters of the doorway.

The pilasters at the corners of the building sustain the entablature, and give a look of strength and solidity to the walls, which was absolutely required for the vast and massive roof.

In the interior the walls are plain, except that (as at Narayan Thalt) a sort of string-course projects all round, about  $12\frac{5}{8}$  feet from the floor. It is about a foot high, flat above, and rounded below.

Over the string-course and resting on it, there is, on each side, a semicircular headed recess, about 3 feet high, 2 feet wide, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  feet deep. Only the one at the back of the building, that is, towards the S. S. E., is pierced for a window, the opening being rectangular, and about 2 feet high by 1 foot in width. The roof is hollowed out into a hemispherical dome, of which the centre is decorated with an expanded lotus flower, as in the Payach† temple. The spandrels of the dome are too much injured to show any trace of figures, if any ever existed; but the dome looks as if it were a modern restoration, and the whole is overlaid with thick whitewash, concealing the material of which it is constructed. There were, however, no figures in any other part of the building, except the tympanum of each smaller pediment over the architraves of the doorways; and *there* the remains of heads (for such I took one of them to be) are now so much worn away, that it is impossible to say exactly what they represented. The colonnade had *no* such ornaments.§ (Plate XX.)

The basement of the temple is very fine. It is divided into two portions, each having the same style of moulding as that of the Bhaumajo|| basement; but they differ from it in being further projected beyond the face of the wall.

The lower portion is 47 feet square and  $5\frac{5}{8}$  feet high; and the upper portion  $34\frac{1}{2}$  feet square and 6 feet high, with a projection of 4 feet. Each division of the basement has a massive filleted torus as

\* See Cunningham, plate X.

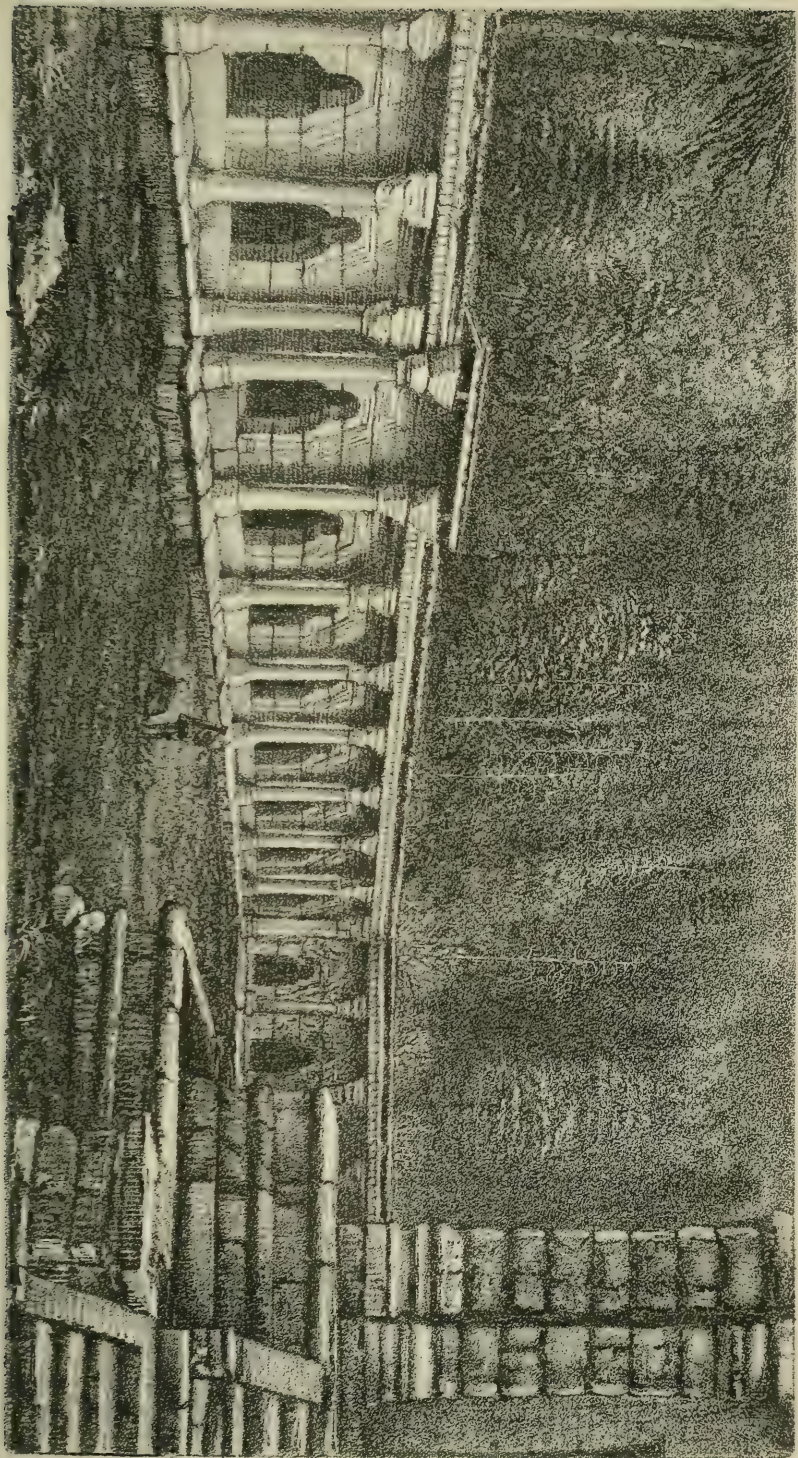
† See below.

§ See photograph, No. II.

‡ See Cunningham, plate XI.

|| See Cunningham, plate VIII.





COLONNADE AT MAHABHARATA



the crowning member, with a straight fillet above and below. Under this is a dado, or plain straight face, which is a little higher than the torus itself. Beneath the dado, is a quirked ovolo of bold projection surmounted by a straight fillet, and under this is the plinth, of which (as at Bhaumajo) the lower stone projects beyond the upper one. As at Payach too, there is a stone drain or water-spout, open at the top, for carrying off the water used for the service of the temple. It emerges from the building on the W. S. W. side, and projects slightly beyond the upper basement; the termination of the drain or spout being made to represent the open mouth of a large snake or some other animal.

The temple is approached by a flight of twelve steps,\* the lower six being 11 feet in width, and the upper six 10 feet, enclosed between sloping walls one foot in thickness. Besides the sloping walls, the lower 6 steps are further supported by flanking walls† (as at Avantiswara,) nearly 6 feet high and  $3\frac{5}{2}$  feet thick.

The temple is enclosed by a pillared quadrangle (Plate IX.) measuring inside 145 feet by  $119\frac{5}{2}$  feet, the longer sides being to the W. S. W. and E. N. E., containing 54 fluted columns. In the middle of the longer sides of the colonnade, and of that in rear of the temple, there is a pair of large fluted pillars, 12 feet in height and 15 inches in diameter, and 10 feet apart, advanced beyond the line of the peristyle a little more than the corresponding pillars at Marttand. On all these columns the transverse architraves, connecting them with the walls of the peristyle, are still standing. The central porticoes, to which these large pillars belong, are not gateways, but lead only to small chambered recesses, similar to, but a little deeper than, those between the other pairs of pillars. There is, however, one flank entrance to the quadrangle, viz., between the third pair of pillars on the E. N. E. side, to the south of the central porch. This has always been, as it is now, closed with a wooden door.

The quadrangle itself originally contained 48 round fluted pillars (of which all but three are still in their places) and six square parallel pillars (disposed in the corners, and on each flank of the gateway); which, together with the six pillars of the central porches and the two of the gateway, made up 56 in all. None of the pillars now

\* See Photograph, No. I.

† See Photograph, No. I.



standing seem to have been injured otherwise than by the wear of time and the elements; but from these causes, many of them have now lost all trace of fluting. Each pillar of the peristyle is 10 feet in height and 13 inches in diameter, with an intercolumniation of  $7\frac{3}{4}$  feet. Immediately behind each pillar there is a square pilaster  $\frac{1}{8}$  engaged, of the same height as, and with mouldings similar to those of, the square corner pillars. The pilasters are  $9\frac{1}{2}$  inches distant from the pillars. Between every pair of pillars there is a chambered recess  $7\frac{5}{12}$  feet by 4 feet, with a trefoil-headed arch covered by a pediment, (which pediment) is supported on small pilasters, or rather upon half\* engaged pillars, as at Avantiswāmi. The general style of the pillars is similar to that of the Marttand colonnade; but it is impossible to say whether the pedimental pilasters of the intervening recesses were ornamented or not. The trefoiled heads of the recesses are joined to the side mouldings of the openings by short horizontal returns† (as at Avantiswāmi). Each pillar is connected with its pilaster and with the main wall by a transverse stone beam, which, being broader at top than at bottom, bears the appearance of an upper capital to the pillar.‡ “The greatest and most characteristic distinction,” therefore, as General Cunningham says, “between the Arian and Classic orders, lies in the disposition of the architrave. In the latter it lies immediately over the line of pillars, whilst in the former it is placed over the transverse beams.” Nearly all of this entablature still exists, but the building has been so much injured by the weather, that its character can only be conjectured. It seems to have been much the same as the upper part of that given in No. 2, plate VIII. of General Cunningham’s Essay. The upper part of the roof of the quadrangle has entirely disappeared, but there can be little doubt that it was triangular in section.

The outer walls of the quadrangle are ornamented by fine deep horizontal bands,§ the intervals being occupied by rectangular figures 18 inches high, 13 inches wide, and  $4\frac{7}{12}$  feet apart, the whole being surmounted by an entablature of the same design as that of the peristyle. The base of the wall is buried deep in accumulated earth

\* See Cunningham, plate XVIII.

† See Cunningham, plate XVIII, and ante Plate IX. p. 92.

‡ See Photograph, (of Marttand colonnade), No. XXIV.

§ See Photograph, No. III

and rubbish; but to the S. W. of the gateway, and on a level with the bottom of the fluted torus which crowns its basement, is part of a similar torus,\* or string-course, projecting from, and running horizontally along, the face of the wall. This torus no doubt ran along the exterior face of the whole quadrangle, and is probably still in good preservation below the ground. Lastly, the front wall is ornamented at each extremity with a trefoil-headed† recess covered by a pediment, the latter resting on half engaged pillars, which are flanked by square pilasters  $\frac{1}{8}$  (one-eighth) engaged, in every way like those of the interior. The quadrangle has had two large wells in the W. S. W. and E. N. E. corners, probably to supply water for flooding the enclosure; and half way between the steps of the gateway inside and the steps of the temple there is a square structure of stone, cut away in the centre as if to receive the end of a prop to a raised pathway,‡ such as that suggested by General Cunningham as the probable connection between the gateway and the temple at Marttand. The object of erecting temples in the midst of water appears to him to have been “to place them more immediately under the protection of the Nágas, or human-bodied and snake-tailed gods, who were zealously worshipped for ages throughout Kashmir.”

The entrance or gateway§ stands in the middle of the N. N. W. side of the quadrangle, and is  $25\frac{1}{2}$  feet in width, nearly that of the temple itself. Outwardly the gateway somewhat resembles the temple, in the disposition of its parts and in the decorations of its pediments and pilasters. It is open to the N. N. W. and S. S. E., and is divided into two distinct portions by a cross wall  $3\frac{3}{4}$  feet thick, with a doorway in the centre closed by a wooden door. These inner and outer porticoes of the doorway are each  $16\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide and  $6\frac{1}{4}$  feet deep. Their side walls are decorated each with a miniature temple having a square-headed doorway, surmounted by a pyramidal pediment representing a double roof. The tympanum of each compartment of these roofs is occupied with the trefoiled decoration, common to the Kashmirian buildings, resting on the architrave, as in the doorway pediments of the temple itself. The pediment of the gateway,

\* See Photograph, No. III.

† See Cunningham, p. 270, para. 25 and Photograph, No. III.

‡ See Cunningham, page 273, para. 31, and page 287, para. 8.

§ See Photograph, No. III.

outside and in, is supported on half engaged fluted pillars,  $16\frac{5}{12}$  feet high, and 14 inches in diameter. As at Bhaumajo, the base of the tympanum\* is reduced to two short returns of the horizontal mouldings of the pediment, each of which serves as a sort of upper abacus to the pedimental pilasters. The doorway pilasters, supporting the architrave ( $2\frac{1}{4}$  feet high, and broken through as usual in the temples of Kashmir), are as high as the base of the main pilaster capitals, and  $4\frac{1}{6}$  feet higher than those of the quadrangle. Besides the doorway pilasters, there are two fluted columns of the same height (including a sort of second capital) and  $18\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter, one on each side of the entrance,  $7\frac{2}{3}$  feet apart, supporting the architrave. The second capital corresponds to the transverse beam of the peristyle connecting the pillar with its pilaster; but here it is detached on all sides. It is cruciform,† and so projects on each side of the capital proper. These columns are distant from the square doorway pilasters respectively about one diameter. The roof of the gateway, like that of the temple, has perished; but it was evidently pyramidal, for the corners of the base of the great pediments (outside and in) remain, and their angles are equal to those at the base of the doorway pediments.

The basement of the gateway is approached on either side by a flight of six steps‡  $7\frac{5}{8}$  feet wide, supported by flank walls  $7\frac{3}{4}$  feet in length, and terminating in upright stones,§ each separated by an interval from the main wall, and ornamented with a standing figure, said by the pundits to represent a servant of Siva.

The material of which the buildings are constructed, is a pale, coarse granite, of which there seems to be no quarry within reach on the left bank of the Jhelum. This circumstance is remarkable, considering the enormous size and weight of some of the stones employed. Mr. Drew, a geologist in the service of H. H. the Maharajah, thinks that the blocks of granite must have been carried down some of the valleys on the opposite side into the river bed, whence they were brought for the construction of the temple. Mortar has been used in all parts of the buildings. Opposite the gateway,

\* See Photograph, No. III.

† See Photograph, No. III. and Cunningham, pp. 269-70, para. 24.

‡ See Photograph, No. III.

§ See Photograph, No. III.

across the road, there is a large cistern, (like that attached to the central temple of the second group of buildings beyond Wangat\*), cut out of a single block of granite. It is  $6\frac{7}{2}$  feet long, 5 feet wide, and  $2\frac{1}{3}$  feet high. There is another cistern† of the same kind, but of smaller dimensions, close by.

The Hindoos residing on the spot say that the temple was built by one Bonadutt (hence the name Boonyar), whose brother built or began a temple at Venapoora beyond Sopur. The situation is very fine, in a deodar forest on the left bank of the Jhelum, which roars below as it descends in foaming cataracts. Immediately behind, the pine-clad hills rise precipitously to a great height. About one-third up, there is a strange formation of rock, resembling a human figure, which is said by the pundits to be the petrefaction of an evil spirit, who formerly devoured men and women passing that way. A very holy fakir, they say, fixed the man-eater for ever where the figure is now seen.

After carefully examining every part of the Bhaniyar buildings, I am inclined to think that they are older than the quadrangle at Marttand‡, and of about the same age as the temples beyond Wangat.

They probably owe their escape from the hand of the destroyer to their secluded situation, which is quite off all the old thoroughfares leading from the Punjab to Kashmir, about three miles lower down the Jhelum than Nowshera, on its left bank.

I found no trace of an inscription on any of the buildings.

#### TEMPLES AT LIDAR.

About half a mile beyond Ladoo, and two miles to the left of the road leading from Pampur to Awantipore, there are two temples, one surrounded by water, (Plate XIV.) and a smaller one, close by, a little higher up the hill side.

The ground plan of the former is a square of 24 feet, with corner pilasters  $3\frac{1}{4}$  feet thick and 6 inches projected. There is only one doorway, to the W. S. W. Its head is semicircular, with a pyramidal pediment slightly projected and divided into two portions, of which the upper one is plain, and the other is occupied by a semicircular

\* See below, p. 106.

† See Photograph, No. III.

‡ See Cunningham, p. 263, para. 10.

ornament. The apex of the pediment reaches to the top of the cornice, which runs round the top of the walls on the outside. The roof is entirely gone.

The interior is a circle, the diameter of which diminishes from the ground upwards. Four feet from the floor it is  $17\frac{5}{12}$  feet. There is a cornice 20 inches high,  $9\frac{5}{12}$  feet above the floor. Its mouldings are the same as those of the lowest course of the ceiling of the small temple,\* viz. three fillets, like those of the Payach dome,† but that the edge of the middle one is round instead of square.

The diameter of the circle formed by the projecting edge of the cornice is 15 feet. The thickness of the wall at the doorway is  $3\frac{2}{3}$  feet. The wall on the inside shows signs of fire having been used, perhaps to destroy the roof, which may have been of wood. The top of the doorway inside is formed by the underside of the course from which the cornice of the interior is projected.

There is a drain on the south side, as at Payach, for carrying off the water used in the services of the temple. The height of the wall outside from the top of the cornice is  $10\frac{1}{3}$  feet. The corner pilasters stand on a basement  $2\frac{5}{12}$  feet high, and are  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches projected beyond the face of the wall (See Plate XIV.) This basement is carried all round the building, except where it is broken by the doorway; the bottom of the basement being on a level with that of the doorway.

The uppermost course of the basement is nearly flush with the corner pilasters, but the next two courses project  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches beyond the uppermost one.

The basement of the temple stands on a platform 48 feet square, faced with stone walls, forming a sort of lower basement, as at Bhaniyar.‡

The whole stands in the middle of a tank of very clear water, which issues from two springs in the N. E. corner. The tank is now 3 feet deep, but I could not ascertain whether there was a stone bottom below the accumulated mud. The tank has been a square of about 70 feet, with stone walls supporting the bank, now 2 feet above

\* See below, p. 100.

† See Cunningham, Plate XI. and page 258, para. 10.

‡ See Photograph, No. I. and ante, p. 92.





Drawn by R. T. Burney Esq<sup>r</sup> C.S.

On stone by Kristo Hari Das Student Govt. School of Art Calcutta

TEMPLE AT LIDAR (IN WATER)

LITH: BY H. NIVEN SURVEYOR GENERAL'S OFFICE CALCUTTA JULY 1866



the water line, but much injured. Round the tank there are the foundations of walls,\* which seem to have formed a square of 100 feet.

There is an ancient looking *lingam*  $4\frac{1}{8}$  feet high,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  feet in diameter, with 8 flat faces, of dark limestone, standing in the water near the springs which supply the tank. It probably once stood in the centre of the temple, like that at the Takht.

The round head of the doorway outside has a sort of keystone (Plate XIV.), being a projection from the lower face of a stone of the course next above, as in the entrance to the temple at Martand,† and other Kashmirian arches.

The smaller of the Lidar temples stands a little above and behind (*i. e.* to the north of) the first. Its ground plan is a square of  $10\frac{1}{6}$  feet. It has only one doorway, viz., to the west. All the walls have corner pilasters 15 inches thick.

The doorway has a square top covered by a pediment, which rests upon the jambs of the door, the tympanum being occupied by the trefoiled ornament. The trefoil contains a niche which once held a figure. This pediment is covered by another, having a trefoiled tympanum. The trefoiled arch rests, as usual, upon small pilasters on each side of the door, but the pediment is supported upon bold square pillars, which are attached to the building by walls of less breadth and 8 inches long. The temple in front is a plain copy of that at Pandrethan,‡ or perhaps the original from which *it* was taken. The capitals of the corner pilasters are ornamented with two animals (I think Bulls) standing back to back; and those of the square pillars, supporting the principal pediment, are decorated with a bold flowered ornament. The roof of the building is pyramidal, but its outer facing of stone has disappeared. The walls are  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet thick. The basement is buried. The interior forms a square of 6 feet, the walls being 7 feet high and plain.

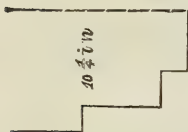
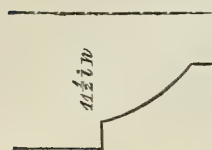
The ceiling is formed of 9 blocks, four of which rest over the angles of the walls. The same process is again repeated with an upper course of four stones, by which the opening is still further narrowed to a square of  $2\frac{7}{12}$  feet; and lastly, the opening is closed by

\* See Cunningham, p. 288, para. 11.

† See Photograph, No. XXIII.

‡ See Photograph, No. V.

a single stone without ornament. The edges of the lowest course have a plain moulding of three straight edged fillets, (Vide woodcuts) and the upper course a similar one, except that the central fillet is rounded.



To the east and west of the temple are rectangular foundations, of the same width as, and continuous with, that of the temple itself; but there is no trace of surrounding walls. There are, however, numberless hewn stones lying about in all directions. From the position of the building, the ground being high on three sides

it may once have stood in water, like the other temple. The pedestal of a *lingam* remains in the centre of the interior.

#### BHAUMAJO.\*

At Bhaumajo (pronounced Bhoomzoo by the natives) there are two temples, besides that described by General Cunningham. The larger of the two has been appropriated by the Mahomedans for a tomb, and disguised as much as possible; so much so, indeed, that when first I visited the *cave* temple, I did not think it worth while examining this other close by, on account of its new and plastered appearance. It is, however, in a very perfect state of preservation, but its details cannot, at present, be seen on account of the thick plaster with which the building is in most parts overlaid. The pyramidal roof is probably uninjured, but it is buried in a mound of earth surmounting the square Mahomedan roof, which now disguises the nature of the building. With some difficulty, I obtained admission to the interior, which I found to be a square of 8 feet. The ceiling is like that of the smaller temple at Lidar.† There is a door on the north side, but the other walls are covered with plaster, rendering it impossible to see whether they once had doors or not. The third temple, however, on the west of the tomb, has only one door, viz., to the north.

The exterior is a square of  $16\frac{1}{8}$  feet, with corner pilasters 2 feet  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches thick. There are porches with high trefoiled arches on

\* See Cunningham, page 251, and the Bishop's letter to the Asiatic Society, 1865.

† See ante, p. 99.

all the sides. I could not find out how far the porches project beyond the walls, owing to the plaster; but the one on the river side (where the door is) projects 3 feet beyond the small pilasters which support the doorway pediment.

The intervening spaces between the sides of the porches and the corner pilasters are filled in with mortar.

The small pediment of the doorway within the trefoiled arch is like that of the cave temple,\* but is supported on independent pilasters of its own. The porches are 11 feet one inch wide.

To the west of the temple above described, also on the bank of the river, are the remains of a smaller temple of the same kind. Its interior is a square of 7 feet, with a roof like that of the smaller temple at Lidar.† Below the roof is a cornice of three square edged fillets, like those of *both* courses of the ceiling.

The building has, I think, had no corner pilasters. It has porches on all four sides, 5 inches projected. The only opening is on the north side: the other porches containing closed doorways, which, like the porch pediments, are an exact copy of those of the cave temple.‡ The exterior of the roof has been destroyed.

#### TEMPLES NEAR WANGAT.

About 3 miles above Wangat, on the right bank of the river Kanknai, are two groups of temples of all sizes, more or less in a state of ruin.

The first group, viz., that nearest to Wangat, consists of six temples,§ with a gateway and an enclosing wall. (See woodcut, p. 102.) The ground plan of the principal building is a square of 25 feet, with pilasters at the corners  $3\frac{2}{3}$  feet in thickness, and having a projection of two inches beyond the temple walls. There are four porches  $14\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide, with a projection of  $2\frac{5}{8}$  feet beyond the corner pilasters. On two sides they contain closed doorways, the recesses of which (like those at Pathan||) once held *linga*, whose pedestals are still in their places.

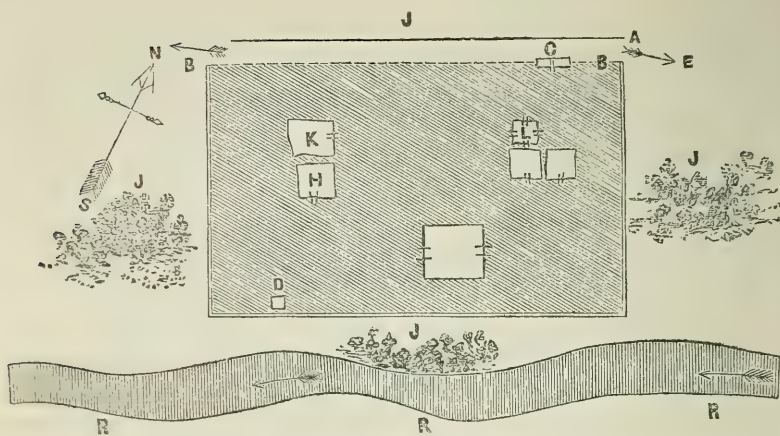
The porches were all surmounted by pediments of high pitch, covering trefoiled arches, which rest on  $\frac{1}{4}$  engaged square pilasters. Over each

\* See Cunningham, plate X. † See *ante*, page 99. ‡ See Cunningham, plate X.

§ See Cunningham, p. 273, para. 31.

|| See Cunningham, p. 283, para. 1.





## References.

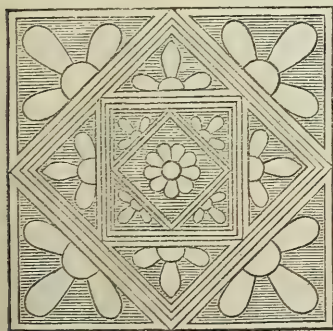
- |                                                |                                                       |
|------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| A. Massive wall forming facing to hill.        | J. (On top). Steep mountain side covered with jungle. |
| B.B. Foundation of original wall of enclosure. | J.J. (On sides). Dense jungle.                        |
| C. Gateway.                                    | K. Temple to west.                                    |
| D. Base of lingam.                             | L. Temple to east.                                    |
| E. Road to second group.                       | N. Road to Wangat.                                    |
| H. Temple to west.                             | R.R.R. Kanknai river.                                 |

doorway, within the large trefoil arch, is a pyramidal pediment, of which the tympanum is occupied with the trefoil ornament, resting on the architrave which covers the pilasters of the doorways. The base of the great pediment of the porches is on a level with that of the capital of the corner pilasters, but the upper portions of these pediments have disappeared. There were two entrances, to the E. N. E. and W. S. W. respectively. The former has the remains of short flanking walls (afterwards added, it would seem) projecting  $2\frac{5}{12}$  feet beyond the porch. They do not appear to have risen higher than the base of the capitals of the porch pilasters. The roof is still standing, and is pyramidal, but its outer facing of stone has fallen, forced out, probably, by the expansion of the roots of a tall fir and other trees, which grew out of the pyramid. The interior, which has been much injured by fire, is a square of 17 feet, the walls below the cornice being  $13\frac{1}{2}$  feet high, and plain; but the roof forms a hemispherical dome, 17 feet in diameter, of which the centre has been decorated by a large expanded lotus flower. The cornice is one foot high, with a moulding of three bands; the upper two projecting each beyond the one below it.

The stones of the interior of the dome diminish in size, from about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  feet long and 6 inches wide in the lower courses, to squares of about  $\frac{5}{8}$  inches near the centre. The foundation of the dome is formed of large blocks of stone, about 2 feet high, decorated with three straight edged fillets as at Payach,\* the two upper ones broad and projecting each beyond that immediately below it, and the lowest narrowest. The spandrels of the dome are plain and horizontal.

Within a few yards of the principal temple, to the north, there are the remains, more or less ruined, of five small temples, three to the east (L), and two to the west (H and K). All but one of them are built on the same general plan as the temple already described, but have only one door each. The two to the west have their doors to the east and south respectively. The doorway of the latter (H) is like that of the temple A of the second group, described below. The other three sides of H are decorated each with a miniature double-roofed temple, but without an enclosing porch like those of A. It has a water-spout on the north-west side. The other temple on the west (K) has been a copy of the principal building, without the second doorway.

Of the other three small temples, *that* corresponding in position to the one nearest the central building on the west, has its door to the south east, and is built on the same plan as H. So has the next one to it (almost touching it) on its north-east side. Its walls have been plain on three sides, and there is a waterspout on the west. The third of these temples, almost touching the first (on its north side), has four doorways; that on the east being larger than the others, with



(I think) a flight of steps to the east. (L). It has a stone water-spout projecting on the N. W. W. side. In the interior the walls are plain. The ceiling (as in the Pandrethan temple,† Plate XVIII.) is formed of 9 blocks, four of which rest over the angles of the walls and reduce the opening to a square. The same process is again repeated with an upper course of four stones, by which the opening is still further nar-

\* See Cunningham, p. 258, para. 10. † See Cunningham, p. 288, para. 10.

rowed to a square of  $2\frac{1}{4}$  feet ; and lastly this opening is covered by a single stone, decorated with a large expanded lotus surrounded by a narrow square moulding, whose angles bisect the sides of the upper opening of the ceiling. All the angles are occupied by a flowered ornament of three leaves, something like that of the upper part of the tympanum in the niche of the upper roof at Payach.\*

The gateway, about  $22\frac{1}{4}$  feet wide, is to the N. N. E. of the principal temple, almost in the N. E. corner of the enclosing wall, and about 30 feet from the nearest of the smaller temples. It was divided into two chambers, and had two columns on each front ; one on either side of the entrance and supporting the architrave, as in the Bhaniyar gateway.† The surrounding wall formed on two sides a facing and support to the platform, on which the temples stand. On one of these sides, viz. that to the east, the wall is over 20 feet high in some places, and is built of small thin dark-coloured stone without mortar. On another side, viz. that on which the gateway is, and the furthest from the river, only the foundation remains ; but 14 feet beyond it there is a second wall, very massive, built of rough blocks of stone, and forming a facing to the hill. It has evidently been erected at a later date, to protect the temples and the gateway from a landslip (probably), which threatened to bury them all in its descent towards the river.

There is built up in this wall a fragment of the pediment of one of the smaller temples. At the S. W. corner of the enclosure there is the base of an enormous *lingam*,  $5\frac{1}{8}$  feet in diameter.

From the N. E. corner of the first group of temples there was a road-way flanked with large stones, leading down to the second group, a few hundred yards distant. Half way down, a little to the right of the road, are the ruins of a small solitary temple, but so much injured that it is impossible to make out the original form of the building. Close to it is a block of granite (measuring 10 feet in length, 16 inches in height, and 26 inches in thickness) which seems to have formed part of the facing wall of a resting-place just above it, where the base of a small column is still in its place, at one corner of a rectangular platform. A little further down the road, on the same side, is another rectangular platform, which seems to have been the

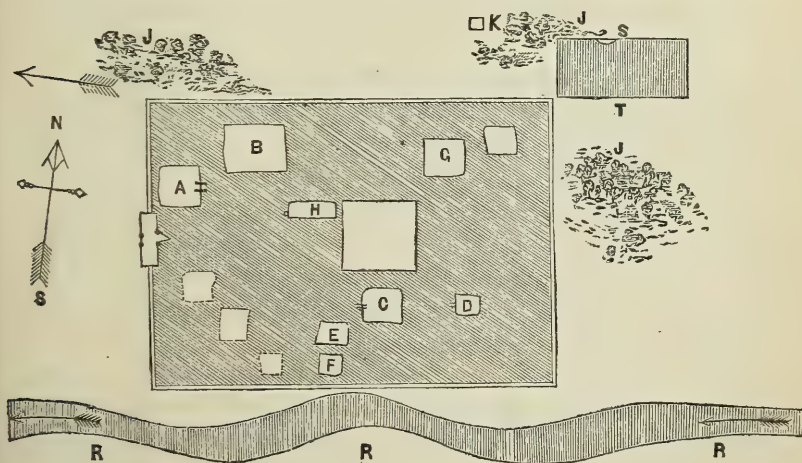
\* See Cunningham, plate No. XII.

† See *ante*, p. 96, and Photograph, No. III.

basement of a *bara durree*, or some such structure, 100 feet long and 67 feet wide. It must have had a broad open verandah all round. The bases of the pillars on one of the longer sides (*viz.* that to the east), eight in number, are all but one still in their places. The pillars were fluted and two feet in diameter, with an intercolumniation of nearly  $12\frac{1}{8}$  feet. Numerous fragments of them are lying about in all directions.

The uppermost course of the basement stones (on which the pillars stood) are 15 inches high, and project about 5 inches over those of the second course (which is almost entirely buried in the ground). In the centre of the platform there are the remains of what appear to have been the walls of an apartment.

About 20 yards to the N. E. of the platform there are the ruins of the enclosing wall of the second group of temples eleven in number, (see woodcut below), with the remains of a gateway in the centre, about  $22\frac{7}{12}$  feet wide, similar to that belonging to the first group.\* Like



*References.*

A. to G. Temples.  
H. Cistern.  
I. Road to first group of temples,  
J.J.J. Jungle.

K. Small temple on hill side.  
R.R.R. Kanknai river.  
S. Spring.  
T. Tank.

the latter, it was divided into two chambers, and had flanking pillars to the front and rear, like those at Bhaniyar.† Their

\* See *ante*, p. 104.

† See Photograph, No. III.



bases on the river side are still in their places. Immediately inside the gateway, to the left, are the ruins of a small temple A, like those of the first group. Its only entrance, a trefoiled arch covered by a pediment resting on independent pilasters, looks to the N. E. i. e. in the direction of the central building. Over the doorway pediment, and resting on square pilasters, is another trefoiled arch, occupying the tympanum of the porch pediment. The square pilasters project 15 inches, and are attached to the building by short walls, as at Pandrethan.\* The other three walls are ornamented with similar porches, projecting about 6 inches, and containing each the front of a miniature temple with two roofs. The recesses once held *linga*.† The interior is blocked up with the debris of the roof.

Between A and the principal temple, and a little to the north of them, are the ruins of another temple (B), of which the basement alone remains, amid a heap of huge stones, earth, and jungle. The ground plan of this building was a square of about 18 feet with corner pilasters  $2\frac{3}{4}$  feet thick, and four porches projecting about 14 inches beyond the pilasters.

Close to the central and principal temple, at its N. W. corner, is a huge cistern (like those at Bhaniyar‡), cut out of a single block of granite, 15 feet long,  $7\frac{1}{3}$  feet wide, and 3 feet high, with a projecting spout on the W. S. W., one of the shorter sides.

The central building here is much more injured than that of the former group, and is buried half way up the porches on two sides. It appears, however, to have been very much like the corresponding temple of the first group, but it had only one entrance, viz. towards the W. S. W. facing the gateway.

The interior is a square of 17 feet. The lowest course of the dome, consisting of 8 stones, each 22 inches high, has not the mouldings which the other dome has in this place, but seems to have had one narrow plain moulding at the edge, and above it there is a concave course, about 18 inches high, with a moulding resembling the frieze of entablature No. 2, (of Marttand), given by General Cunningham on plate VIII accompanying his Essay. The entrance has the remains of projecting walls§, like those of the large temple in the first group.

\* See Cunningham, plate XXI. † See Cunningham, p. 283, and plate No. XX.

‡ See *ante*, p. 97.

§ See *ante*, p. 102.



The corner pilasters of this temple are 4 feet thick, the ground plan being a square of 25 feet, as in the other case. A few yards to the S. S. E. of the central temple is a small one (C), seven feet square, with one round-headed doorway  $3\frac{5}{8}$  feet wide, having mouldings the same as those of G, and looking in the same direction as that of the principal building. On the other three sides, there are similar porches with closed square headed doorways. The basement (of which part only is above the ground) seems to have been like that of Bhaumajo.\* The entablature over the doorways, beneath the base of the pyramidal pediment, like the entablature over the corners of the building (on each side of the pediment) is decorated like frieze No. 2, of the Marttand entablature, shewn by General Cunningham. The porches project  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The interior is a square of  $4\frac{2}{3}$  feet. The roof is constructed of horizontal courses, like these of L. (Woodcut on p. 102.) The uppermost stone is decorated with an expanded lotus flower. The two lower courses are ornamented each with a moulding of three square-edged fillets, like those of the Payach dome.†

To the N. N. E. and S. S. W. of this small temple are the ruins of two others. That in the former direction (D), a mere heap of ruins, had its only entrance on the same side as that of the central temple. The other (E) is a heap of huge stones, scarcely one of which is in its original place. Eight feet behind the S. S. W. temple is a fourth small one (F), with a square headed doorway which has plain perpendicular and horizontal mouldings. There are similar doorways on the other sides, but only that on the N. N. W. has an opening. The interior is a square of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet. The roof has been formed of horizontal courses, of which the lowest alone remains, forming a square opening of about 4 feet. The walls are 20 inches thick.

There has been another small temple to the S. S. W. of that last described, but it is now only a heap of stones; and on its N. W. side I think there are the foundations of one, if not two, more temples.

To the N. N. E. of the central building are the ruins of a very elegant temple (G), the interior of which formed a square of about 9 feet. The walls were plain, with a cornice of 3 horizontal bands, the centre one having a rounded edge. The walls are  $2\frac{7}{12}$  feet thick.

\* See Cunningham, plate No. X.

† See Cunningham, plate No. XI.

The only entrance is to the S. S. W. The head of the doorway is round, and has a few parallel and perfectly plain mouldings, which are joined to the similar mouldings of the sides by short horizontal returns. To the N. E. of the last, and a few feet only distant, are the ruins of another small temple, the ground plan of which was a square of  $6\frac{1}{4}$  feet.

The wall enclosing all of these buildings, has been plain and very massive. Many of the stones are still in their places on the N. N. W. side, some of them being 7 feet long, 22 inches high, and 22 inches thick. The wall measures 161 feet by 118 feet, the longer sides being towards the river and the hill respectively. On the former side the wall forms a support to the platform on which the temples stand; and on the latter, a facing to the hill side, which has either been cut away to form the quadrangle, or has subsequently come down in a landslip, threatening to bury all the buildings in its descent towards the river. Wherever the lower part of the wall remains and is visible on the outside (as it is near the gateway), there is a string course, like that at Bhaniyar.\*

Immediately beyond the enclosing wall, at its N. N. W. corner, is a tank (T) of most delicious water, very cold and clear. The bottom of the tank is considerably above the level of the quadrangle, which might therefore have been kept flooded from the tank. The water issues from the hill on the N. W. W. side of the tank, through the stones of the wall, and was probably the cause of this site being selected for all these buildings. Not only the temples, but the neighbourhood is now forsaken by all human beings, and there is not a *resident* Hindu for many miles. But the spring (S) still runs on the same as ever, affording another instance of the temporary nature of man's greatest devices compared with that of things not human.

To the west of the tank, and the north of the second group of temples, on the hill side, and almost buried in the ground, are the ruins of a small solitary temple. The roof is broken into two portions (like that of the Payach temple†), of which the upper one, a pyramid formed of a single stone  $2\frac{5}{8}$  feet square, is still in its place.

The situation of the two groups of buildings is very wild and secluded, but not grand like that of the Bhaniyar temple.

\* See *ante*, p. 94, and Photograph, No. III.

† See Cunningham, plate No. XII.

They are on the right bank of the Kanknai river, about 3 miles above Wangat, and not on the Brahmsur stream, where the latter place is incorrectly marked in the trigonometrical survey map. The Kanknai is nearer to the temples than the Jhelum is to that of Bhaniyar, and is quite as noisy as the latter river, but its dimensions are much less. The mountains on both sides of the stream above the temples rise to a great height and are very steep. They are covered with forests of pine and fir; and, not far distant to the N. N. E., the head of the valley is closed by a bare, dark green hill, with the snow still remaining in its clefts on the 27th of July. The temples are built of a coarse, pale granite, like that used at Bhaniyar, and mortar is found in most of the buildings. There are tall firs growing out of the roof of the principal temple of each group, and many of the smaller temples have been much injured by other trees forcing their way through the walls.

The best way to the temples from Srinagar is by Gundurbul, Kuchnungul, and Wangat.

#### • DYAMUN, BETWEEN NOWSHERA AND URI.

On the left bank of the Jhelum, between Nowshera and Uri, and about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the latter place, are the ruins of a fine temple and gateway, similar to those of Bhaniyar.\* There has been also a surrounding quadrangle, but very little of it remains.

The ground plan of the temple is a square of 23 feet, with corner pilasters  $2\frac{5}{8}$  feet thick and six inches projected beyond the walls of the building. The porches, of which three contain closed doorways, are each 16 feet wide, with a projection of  $1\frac{3}{4}$  feet. The doorways have square heads with plain straight mouldings, and are surmounted by pediments containing the trefoil ornament. The pediments are supported on half engaged fluted pillars. The only entrance, viz. to the W. N. W., is approached by a flight of steps like that of Bhaniyar.†

The interior is a square of 12 feet, but is nearly filled up with the debris of the pyramidal roof. The interior walls had a cornice of three plain mouldings, like those of one of the larger temples at Wangat.‡ Part of the pyramidal roof is still standing. It has been

\* See *ante*, p. 91, and Photographs, Nos. I. II. III. and XIII.

† See Photograph, No. I.

‡ See *ante*, p. 102.

very massive, but hollow. The basement of the temple is like that of Bhaniyar,\* but a good deal of it is concealed by earth and jungle.

The steps of the temple are about  $19\frac{1}{2}$  feet from those of the gateway, but the latter are covered with earth and fragments of stone.

The exterior face of the surrounding wall has been ornamented like that at Bhaniyar,† and there were two recesses in the corners of the front wall, like those at Marttand and Bhaniyar. The colonnade of the interior has entirely disappeared, if any ever existed. I found no fragments of small columns, like those of the Bhaniyar peristyle; but the quadrangle is so filled up with earth, fragments of stone, trees and jungle, that whole pillars may be concealed from view. I think there was a peristyle; because behind the temple I found part of a basement, like that on which the columns of the peristyle stand at Bhaniyar.‡

The gateway is built on the same plan as that at Bhaniyar,§ and is  $23\frac{1}{4}$  feet wide. It is divided into two compartments, each 17 feet by  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet. The short side walls of each compartment are decorated with two trefoil headed niches, one above the other, with pyramidal pediments. The upper part of the gateway has disappeared, but fragments of the four large fluted columns which supported the architrave, are lying about in the neighbourhood, and also the capital of one of these columns, elaborately carved with small figures and flowered ornaments. Nearly the whole of the outer wall of the quadrangle is still standing, but its character is concealed, in most parts, by the earth which on three sides is up to the top of the wall. The whole of the ruins are so buried in jungle that I passed along the road, on my way to Kashmir, without noticing them at all. The material is black stone (I think limestone), streaked with veins of white marble.

The situation is wild, like that of the Bhaniyar temple, the hill rising to a great height immediately behind the ruin.

#### MANUS BAL.

At the S. E. corner of the lake of Manus Bal, there is a small temple, of which the roof only was above the water on the 9th of

\* See Photograph, No. I.

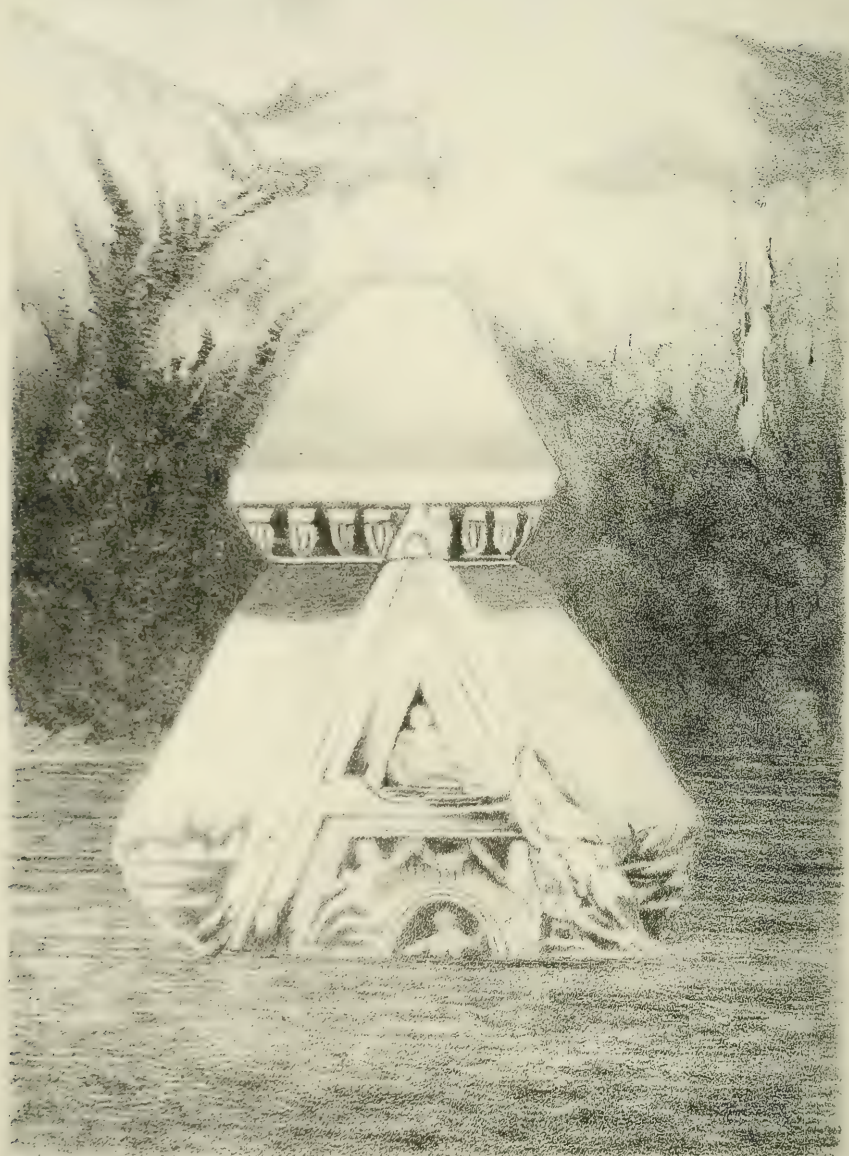
† See Photograph, No. III.

‡ See Photograph, No. II.

§ See Photograph, No. III.







Designed by Kersio Hari Das Student Govt. School of Art Calcutta.

TEMPLE IN LAKE AT MONUSBAL

Surveyed by Mr. J. H. B. SURVEYOR GENERAL OFFICE CALCUTTA JULY, 1886

August. (Plate XIX.) In the winter, I was told, the building stands on dry ground. At other seasons the whole is sometimes below the surface of the lake.

The roof is very like that of the Payach temple,\* being broken into two distinct portions by an ornamental band; each portion being formed of a single stone. The upper stone is 5 feet square at its base, and is plain on all sides. The ornamental band† is like that of Payach, divided into spaces alternately projecting and retiring. The latter are square and occupied by the lotus; but the projecting ends are carved into upright mouldings, slightly rounded at top and bottom, and surmounted by a straight and horizontal band. The north, south, and east sides of the lower portion of the roof are plain. The top seems to have been crowned by a melon-like ornament, of which the base only remains.

The temple appears to be a square of about 6 feet, and has only one doorway, to the west, covered by a pyramidal pediment, which is divided into two portions by a horizontal return of the side mouldings, as in the case of the Marttand colonnade.‡ The upper portion is occupied by the head and shoulders of a figure holding a sort of staff in the left hand, and with something, which I could not make out, under the left arm. (See Plate XIX.) In the niche (like those at Payach§) formed by the trefoil over the doorway, there is a sitting figure, holding a sort of club in the left hand. The angles of the lower portion of the doorway pediment, below the horizontal moulding and above the trefoil, are occupied each with a naked figure leaning against the head of the trefoil, and holding up over the arch a sort of waving scarf, which is passed on through their other hands.

#### LANKA.

On Lanka island there are the ruins of a very fine temple. Its ground plan appears to have been a square of  $34\frac{1}{2}$  feet, with a sort of antechamber to the S. E. E., which is 11 feet wide, including the walls. The latter are  $2\frac{5}{12}$  feet thick. This *antechamber* projects  $5\frac{3}{4}$  feet beyond the walls of the *Naos*. The exterior walls of the temple are ornamented with two rows of deep niches with cinq-foiled

\* See Cunningham, plate No. XII.

† See Cunningham, plate No. XVI.

‡ See Cunningham, plate No. XII.

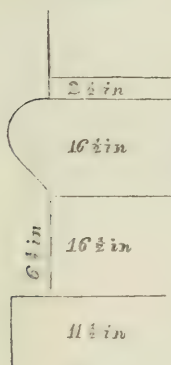
§ See Cunningham, plate No. XII.

heads, flanked by half engaged fluted columns. The wall on each side of the antechamber has three of these niches in each row, *i. e.* 12 niches in all.

There are many small pillars lying about, almost uninjured, and more fragments of similar pillars. The columns measure 8 feet  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches, including base and capital, the latter being like that of the small pillars of the Marttand\* peristyle, but with beading between the egg-shaped ornaments. The capital of these pillars is  $14\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height. They have 6 flutes, and their diameter is  $16\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The exterior face of the walls of the antechamber have only one of the niches in each row.

The doorway is to the S S. E., but I did not feel sure that there had not been doors on the other sides also.

On the S. S. E. side of the island there is a flight of steps with flanking walls; and close by, in the water, a large *lingam*. There are heaps of hewn stone on all sides of the island at the water's edge, including fragments of square headed doorways, pyramidal pediments, &c., and I think the island must all have been surrounded by a quadrangular wall, with a peristyle and recesses on the interior, as at Marttand.



Near the steps are the remains of a cistern like the smaller one† at Bhaniyar. The building stands on a basement, of which a woodcut is given in the margin.

#### NARAYAN THAL.

This temple stands in a small tank‡ on the right hand side of the road, going from Baramula to Mozufferabad, and about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles to the S. W. of the former place. It is situated in a hollow at the foot of the hills, and is buried in trees; and it may, therefore, easily escape the notice of travellers who are not looking out for it. The temple is a square of  $13\frac{1}{4}$  feet, with plain walls. There is only one doorway  $3\frac{5}{12}$  feet high, and 3 feet wide, on the east side, its top being formed

\* See Cunningham, plate No. XV, and plate No. VII, fig. 6.

† See *ante*, p. 97.

‡ See photograph, No. XVII.

by the ends of two stones, whose lower corners are rounded off, forming an arch one foot high. The walls are formed of eight courses, of which two are below the surface of the water.

The roof of the temple is a low pyramid, also formed of eight courses, of which the lowest projects a few inches beyond the face of the walls. The second course from the top of the roof is formed of one stone,  $4\frac{3}{4}$  feet square at the bottom, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  feet high. Over it are three small stones, forming the uppermost course, of which the centre is pierced with a hole, 6 inches in diameter, apparently made to receive the end of a finial that is wanted to complete the pyramid.

The interior is a square of  $7\frac{1}{4}$  feet, and is  $9\frac{5}{8}$  feet high. The floor was in July more than a foot below the surface of the water. The inside walls are formed of horizontal courses, each consisting of four stones only, one on each side of the building. The course over the doorway is slightly projected and rounded, forming a sort of string course along the walls. Above it are eight courses; the sides of the building diminishing in length as they near the top, and the slope of the walls being straight.

The uppermost course of the interior walls, forming a small square opening, is crowned by a single flat stone.

There are a great many stones lying about the tank, but I could not find the foundation of an enclosing wall,\* and, owing to the rushes and other weeds which abound in the water, I could not ascertain whether the bottom of the tank had been flagged or not. I did not find any part of the pedestal of a *lingam* in the temple.

The tank is fed by a running stream, which comes from a spring in the side of the hill immediately behind.

Some of the stones of the temple walls are  $9\frac{1}{4}$  feet long and 13 inches high.

#### FUTTEGHUR, KASHMIR.

After crossing the hill at the end of the valley, about two miles from Baramula, on the way to Nowshera, a short distance off the road, to the left, towards Gul-murg, there are the ruins of a grand temple, in a village called (since Runjeet Sing's conquest of the country) Futteghur. Runjeet had a fort built round the temple,

\* See Cunningham, p. 288, para. 11.



using the stone of its pyramidal roof, and probably of its enclosing quadrangle, for the construction of his walls of defence. The ground plan of the temple is a square of  $46\frac{2}{3}$  feet. There were four porches, each  $27\frac{1}{3}$  feet wide, with a projection  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet beyond the temple walls. The only door was on the W. N. W. side, the other three porches containing closed doorways, like those at Bhaniyar.\* The doorways had pyramidal pediments, the tympanum being occupied by the trefoil ornament, and were supported on half engaged fluted columns, with capitals decorated with the egg-shaped ornament.† The doorway pediments were surmounted by those of the porches, with noble trefoiled arches occupying the tympanum; the principal pediments being supported on fine square pilasters, and the arches resting, as usual, on half engaged square pillars of their own. The corner pilasters are  $7\frac{1}{3}$  feet thick, and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches projected. The capitals of the square pilasters, like the entablature of the exterior walls, were ornamented with small trefoil-headed niches, containing naked human figures standing; and over them was a row of lotus flowers in small square panels. The interior measures 29 feet across, and seems to have been octagonal, the four principal sides measuring each  $18\frac{1}{2}$  feet, and the other four each 9 feet; but the whole building is buried in earth and the debris of the roof nearly up to the top of the doorways, and it is consequently not possible to take all the measurements accurately. Some of the stones (black limestone?) are very large, measuring  $10\frac{7}{12}$  feet in length  $3\frac{5}{8}$  feet in height, and  $3\frac{1}{8}$  feet in thickness. From the exterior face of the porch to the back of the recess formed by the closed doorway is  $8\frac{1}{2}$  feet.

#### TEWAN.

About a mile to the left of the road beyond Bimbaga, at a village called Tewan, near the foot of the hills, there are the ruins of a temple built after the plan of the principal temples beyond Wangat, but of smaller dimensions. It has only one door, viz. to the south; but there are porches, similar to that on the south, on the other three sides, containing closed door-ways. The roof is entirely gone, and the walls look as if they would very soon topple over. The basement is buried. The

\* See photograph, No. I.

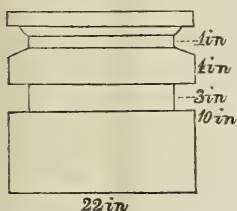
† See Cunningham, plate VIII. fig. 6.



interior is a square of about 11 feet. The temple seems to have stood in a tank, and to have had an enclosing wall. Immediately behind is the steep hill side, covered with fine spreading cedars.

#### TEMPLES AT PATHAN SUGANDHESWARA.\*

The inner chamber of this, the smaller of the two Pathan temples, is, as Cunningham says, "quite plain," except that in the west wall there are four small niches in a line,  $5\frac{1}{3}$  feet from the floor, two with trefoiled heads and two square-headed. To the right of the gateway ruins there is a fragment of a fluted column, one foot in diameter, like those of the Avantiswami peristyle, and, a little further to the front, a fragment of a larger fluted column (having 20 flutes)  $1\frac{2}{3}$  feet in diameter.



Down each flute there is a flat band, one inch wide, slightly projected. Near the latter fragment there are pieces of two trefoil-headed arches, and the capitals (with parts of the shafts) of two of the colonnade pilasters. There is also, on the same spot, the base (22 inches square) of a small column, cut on three

sides only.

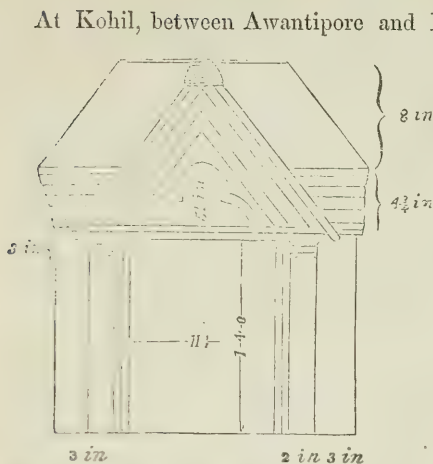
#### SANKARA GAURESWARA.

Nearly opposite this, the larger of the two Pathan temples, on the left hand side of the road in a bagh of cherry trees, there is a fragment of a small fluted column† (having 16 flutes), one foot in diameter, similar to that of the Pampur peristyle. The fragment measures about 3 feet in length, and is standing up out of the ground, marking the site of a Mahomedan grave. And in a field to the east of the temple, there is another fragment of the same or a similar pillar. In the village of Pathan, I found the base of a small column like that described near Sugandheswara, and another of a larger column. In and about the village, there are numberless huge stones, squared and otherwise carved, which probably belonged to the enclosure of one or both of the temples. To the east of the entrance porch of the larger temple, at 90 feet distance, there is the foundation of a wall of squared stones, and I thought I could trace the foundation of a gateway.

\* See Cunningham, page 281.

† See Cunningham, page 283.

## KOHIL.



temple, cut out of one stone, standing near a Mahomedan tomb, within an enclosing wall of recent construction. (See woodcut.) The interior of the temple is a cube of 15 inches, with the centre of the roof hollowed out into a dome; and the walls are 5 inches thick.

The exterior walls are 2 feet long without corner pilasters, and there is only one entrance. On three sides there are closed doorways, with pediments like that of the entrance. The apex of the doorway pediment is on a level with the top of the lower division of the roof, as at Payach,\* and projects 5 inches beyond the roof at the same level. As at Payach, also, the pediment is unbroken, and contains the trefoil ornament. The doorway pilasters project one inch beyond the face of the wall. The basement of the temple, and the upper division of the roof are missing.

At the same place there are the bases of 3 small columns, whose diameter has been 8 inches. Of their bases, the plinth is 7 inches high and  $11\frac{1}{4}$  inches wide. The upper member also is square, and somewhat like that of the Martand peristyle columns,† 3 inches high.

## DRUBGAMA.

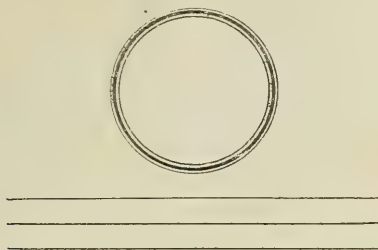
Between Ramoo and Shapuyon, a few yards from the road, on high ground, near Drubgama, is a miniature temple, like that at Kohil, cut out of a single block of stone 2 feet  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches square, and 4 feet  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches high.

It has one door to the south, with a horse shoe-shaped arch, covered by a pyramidal pediment, broken into two portions by a return of the

\* See Cunningham, plate XII.

† *Ibid*, plate XV.

side mouldings. The upper portion is occupied by a small trefoil ornament, and the lower one contains a small round ornament, resting on the base, thus :



The width of the porch on the south side is 2 feet. On the north side there is a recess like those of the Pathan temples,\* with a cinquefoiled head, covered by a pyramidal pediment broken into two portions of which the lower one is occupied by a flowered ornament. A larger pediment supported on half engaged pillars surmounts the former one. The east and west walls have porches very slightly projected, with pyramidal pediments resting on the jambs of square-headed doorways. The tympanum of the pediment is occupied by a large trefoil ornament.

The roof of the temple has been formed of two stones, of which the upper one has disappeared, as is the case in the Kohil model.

The temple seems to have stood in a very small tank faced with stone walls. I could not find any trace of a basement. In front of the temple there are stones which I took for the foundation of a small rectangular building.

#### PANDRETHAN.†

The floor of this temple on the 7th of August was  $3\frac{5}{12}$  feet below the surface of the water, and above it there were  $5\frac{11}{12}$  feet of wall. The opening on the south‡ (differing from those on the other three sides) appears to have been made subsequently. Its sides are not splayed like those of the other doorways, and seem not to have been regularly cut, but rudely broken away. In fact, one stone on the west side of

\* See Cunningham, p. 283, para. 1.

† *Idem*, page 283.

‡ *Idem*, p. 287, para. 9.

the opening is not flush with the rest, but projects a couple of inches or so beyond the general level of the face of the wall. I think there had been originally a closed doorway outside on the south, like those at Bhaniyar\* and that the interior of the wall on that side was originally built up and plain.

General Cunningham's drawing of the ceiling of the temple is not quite complete. From the accompanying very accurate sketch made by Mr. R. T. Burney of the Civil Service, (Plate XVIII.), it will be seen that the angles of the square in which the beaded circle is, are occupied by naked human figures, as well as the angles of the other squares. These innermost figures have both arms outstretched, like those at Payach† seeming to hold up the circle. They have drapery about their shoulders, resembling light scarfs. The brackets supporting the cornice were once ornamented, and show marks of great violence having been used to destroy the carving. Each appears to have represented a human head; for on several of them there still remains on both sides what looks like plaited hair. The pediment pilasters project 5 inches beyond those supporting the trefoiled arches. The corner pilasters of the building are 1 foot 10½ inches thick. I found what I took for mortar in all parts of the building.

#### MARTTAND,‡

The middle chamber of the centre edifice is 14 feet by 6½ feet; and the innermost one, the naos of the Greeks, is 18 feet by 13½ feet, having the remains of a cornice, about 18 inches high, in the S. E. corner. I could find no trace of trefoil-headed panels or any other ornament on the outer walls of the quadrangle.

The large pillars at the extremities of the wall (in which the gateway is) outside, have, I think, supported the pediments of cells like those in the front wall at Bhaniyar.§

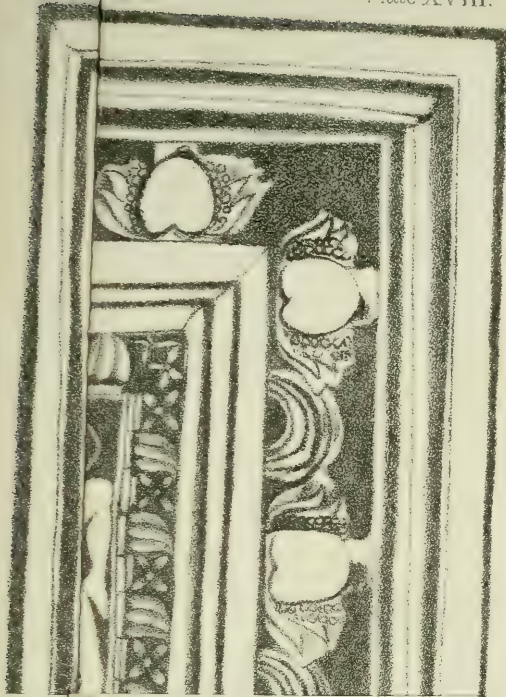
The leading feature of the entablature of the middle chamber is the cinquefoiled headed arch, resting upon small half engaged hexagonal pillars. See woodcut on next page.

\* See *ante*, p. 92.

† Cunningham, plate No. XII.

‡ Ibid, page 258.

§ Ibid, p. 270, para. 25, and Photograph, No. XXIII.





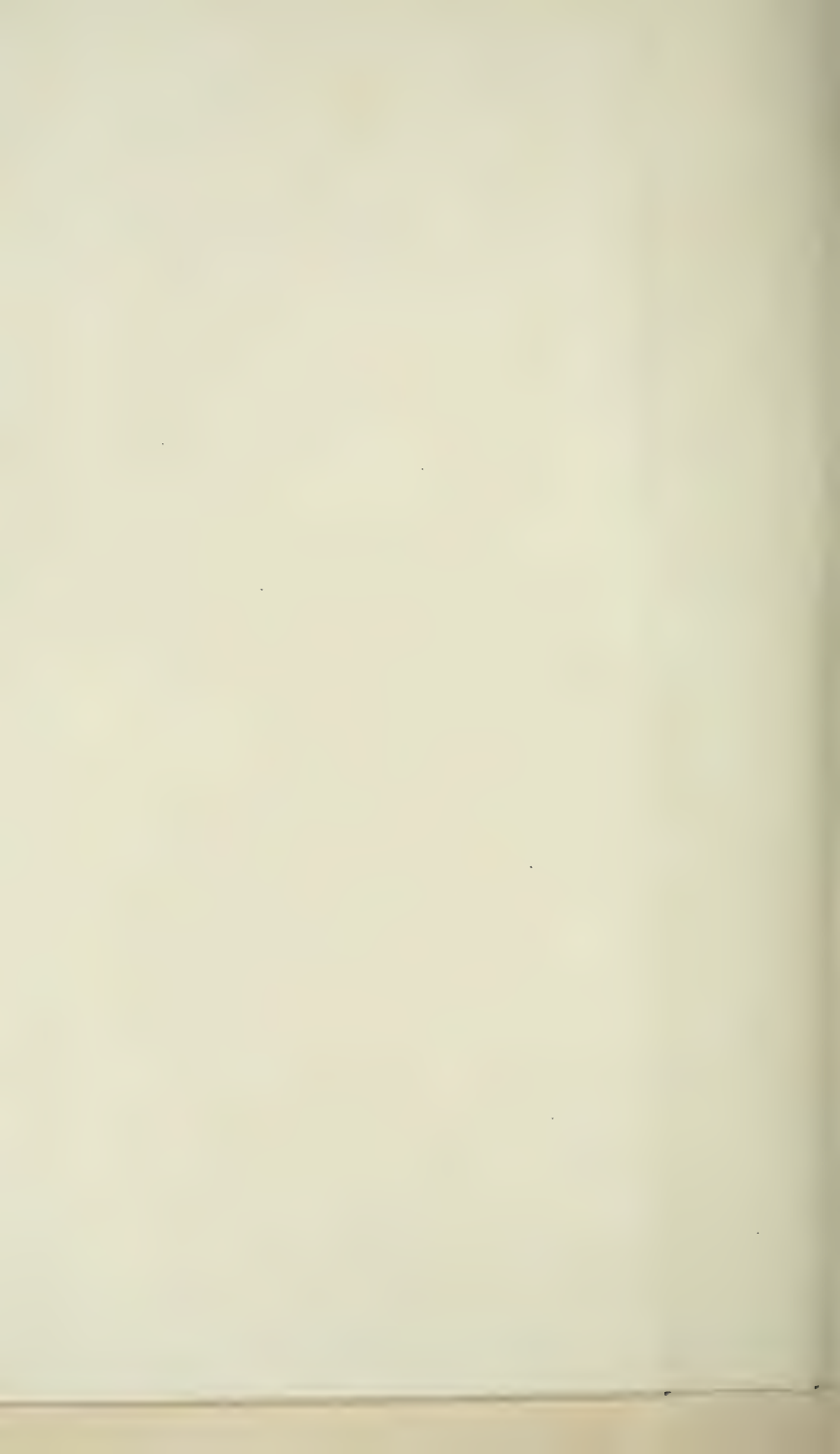




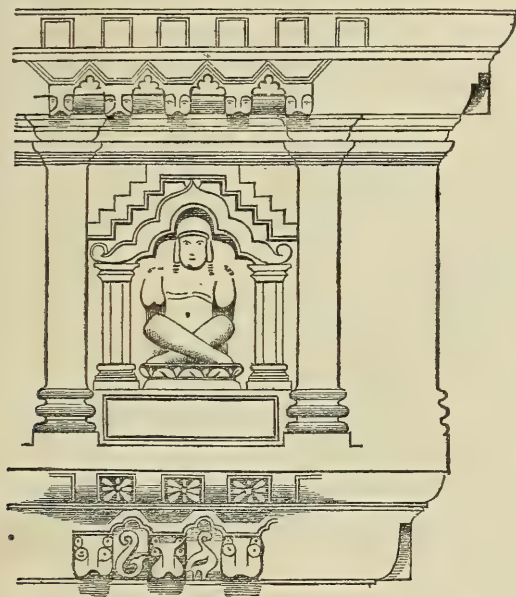
Drawn by F. T. Burrey Esq. C. S.

ROOF OF PANDETHAN TEMPLE

On stone by Kamakha Churn Ghose, Student Govt School of Art Calcutta



The soffits of the arch, leading from the araldhamandapa or porch, to the antarala or mid-temples, is highly decorated. (See Cunningham, plate XVI. and woodcut overleaf.)



TAKHT-I-SULIMAN.\*

With all deference to General Cunningham, I should call the ground plan of this temple a *square*† of  $14\frac{2}{3}$  feet, with projections on each side.

The diameter of the interior of the temple is  $15\frac{1}{8}$ . The thickness of the wall on each side of the door is  $5\frac{5}{8}$  feet, and the doorway is projected 2 feet.

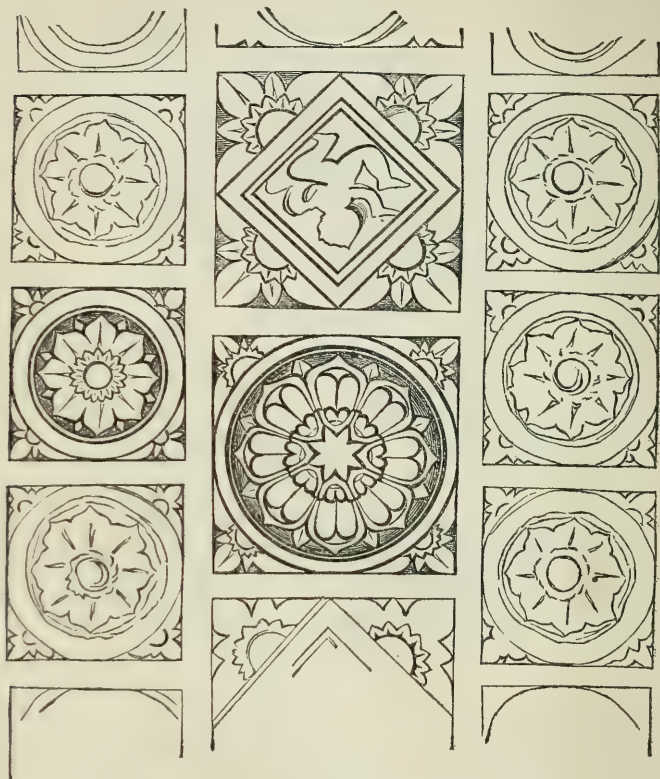
Only one side of the enclosing wall is perfect; and it contains 14 rectangular recesses. The wall on another side is partly standing, and seems to have contained 13 recesses. These walls each measure 22 feet in length on the inside. The outside of the wall is quite plain.‡

\* Cunningham, page 247.

† Ibid, p. 270, para. 25, and Photograph, No. XXI.

‡ Ibid, p. 250, para. 18.

The basement of the wall is  $2\frac{7}{12}$  feet thick, projecting on the inside one foot beyond the wall itself. The height of the basement is 10 inches.



(Soffits of entrance arch of Temple. Marttand.)

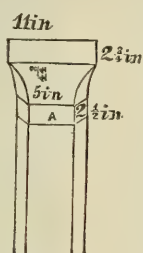
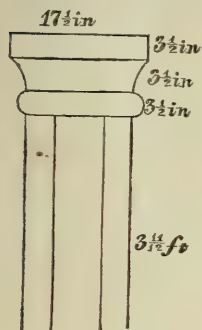
The sloping walls, flanking the steps leading from the entrance, are  $2\frac{3}{4}$  feet thick. The surrounding walls and the entrance are in much better preservation than the temple itself. The entrance has a round top (like those of the arched recesses in the rectangular panels\*), whereas the doorway of the temple is narrow and pointed. For these and other reasons, I believe the surrounding wall and the steps to be much more recent in date than the temple.

\* See Cunningham, p. 250, para. 8.



I was assisted in taking the above measurement by W. Elmslie, Esq., M. D.

To the north of the temple, a few feet distant, there is a small rectangular building. Its interior is 11 feet by  $10\frac{5}{8}$  feet, and the



walls are  $2\frac{7}{12}$  feet thick. The roof is formed of large plain slabs, supported on four horizontal stone beams, 15 inches wide, and  $6\frac{1}{4}$  inches high. Each of these beams is formed of two stones. These beams again rest, in the centre, on another stone beam (formed of 2 pieces)  $10\frac{5}{8}$  feet long, 11 inches high and 16 inches wide,

and supported on two stone pillars (of 8 flat faces each) without bases. Including the capitals, the pillars are 4 feet  $10\frac{1}{2}$  inches high and  $23\frac{1}{2}$  inches thick. (See woodcut.) The capitals are not alike.

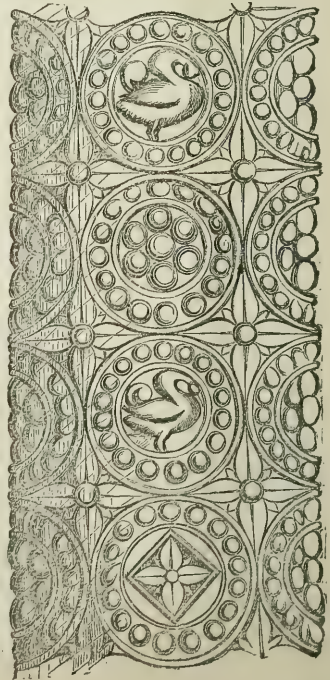
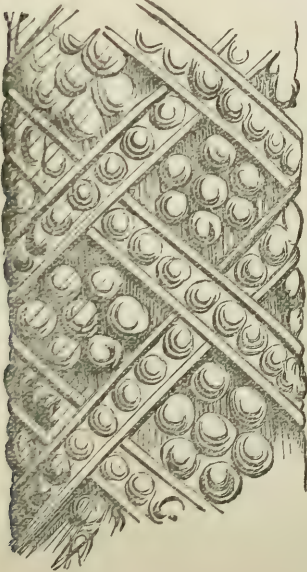
There is one entrance to the east, as in the temple close by. It is round headed, with plain mouldings parallel to the sides and top. The walls outside and inside are plain. The exterior of the roof is gone.

#### AVANTISWAMI.\*

Though the Dewan at Srinagar readily consented to my opening up the ruins of Avantiswami, I experienced great difficulty in obtaining bildars and coolies for the work. For some weeks I could not get any at all, and most of the work was done by very old men and children.

I excavated the whole of the peristyle on the south side of the quadrangle and the part of it between the S. W. corner and the gateway. At first I hoped that the displacement of the entablature over the colonnade was only local; but, on continuing the excavation,

\* See General Cunningham's Essay, p. 276, and the Bishop's letter to the Asiatic Society, 1865.



I found that the whole of the entablature on the south side had been thrown down before the silting up of the quadrangle. Notwithstanding this circumstance, the pedimental pilasters of the recesses have scarcely been injured at all. This is specially remarkable in the case of one pair of pilasters, which are ornamented with figures representing Siva or some other divinity. The woodcuts on page 122, from a drawing by Mr. H. Wilson of the Civil Service, give a very faithful representation of four of these pilasters.

#### KUNAMOH, &c.

At Kunamoh and Kroo, beyond Pampur, to the left of the Islamabad road, there have been temples in the middle of small tanks, which (latter) still remain. At Tapur also, between Pathan and Baramula, there are the foundations, if not the entire basements, of two fine temples; and near Woossun, on the right bank of the Sind, there are likewise extensive ruins of similar buildings.

About one mile from Baramula, on the left bank of the Jhelum, are the foundations of a wall 90 yards square, enclosing a small *tope*. This is probably the ancient Jayendra Vihar. Near the wall there are the foundations of a large village or city. Stones of all shapes are strewn over the ground to the extent of some acres. In one place there is a heap of huge blocks, which are evidently the debris of a temple long ago overturned. There is also a small mound resembling a Buddhist *tope*, also covered with loose stones. Near its top is a very large *lingam*. A few hundred yards from this mound, in an orchard, there is another and larger *lingam*, measuring 17 feet in circumference near the base, and 9 feet in height.

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*Remarks on Barbier de Meynard's edition of Ibn Khordádbeh and on the Land-tax of the empire of the Khalyfs.—By Dr. A. SPRENGER.*

[Received 23rd February, 1866.]

*Le livre des routes et des provinces d' Ibn Khordádbeh, texte arabe publié, traduit, et annoté par C. Barbier de Meynard. Paris, 1865.*

Monsieur Barbier de Meynard is known to us as the author of the *Dictionnaire Géographique de la Perse*, and as the editor and translator of the *Travels of Ibn Batútá* and of the *Golden Meadows* (or more correctly, as Gildemeister explains this book title, "the gold washings) of Masúdy. To these important publications he has lately added that of *Ibn Khordádbeh*, and at present he is engaged with *Moqaddasy*. As soon as he has completed this work, we may say that he has done more for oriental geography, than all Arabists past and living together. Barbier de Meynard has visited the East, and he is an 'Alamdyda and a man of vast erudition. His way of working differs essentially from that of his confrères of the old rotten school. He gives us good texts and close yet elegant translations, and does not waste his time in puerile notes, replete with philological subtleties and nonsensical explanations, in which men whose ideas do not extend beyond the narrow limits of the school, delight so much.

The most ancient MS. of the geography of *Ibn Khordádbeh* is that of Oxford, which has hitherto been considered as unique. To the zeal of Monsieur Barbier de Meynard and to his knowledge of the East we owe the discovery of another copy, which was found at Constantinople. Notwithstanding this important discovery, it was an extremely difficult task to establish a good text of *Ibn Khordádbeh*. I do not maintain Barbier de Meynard has succeeded in every instance to fix the correct reading, but I assert, without fear of contradiction, that no Orientalist could have done more for amending the text than he, for no man has a better knowledge of Eastern geography. The editor suffered under one great disadvantage: he could not consult the MS. of Oxford, whilst the work went through the press, and the transcript which he made use of was not taken by himself. The Oxonians are as jealous of their literary treasures as an eastern prince of the hundreds of ladies in his harem, and as they have no particular



predelection for Eastern lore (they have in fact better things to do), they derive about as much advantage from them. I copied the Oxford MS. for my own use, and in some instances I prefer my own reading. Baron de Slane published in the "*Journal Asiatique*" an account of Qodáma's work on the *Kharáj*, a book which I shall frequently quote in this paper. I might probably have avoided many mistakes arising from the incorrectness of my extracts from Qodáma, if I had had the good fortune to consult the Baron's remarks, but unfortunately I do not possess the *Journal*.

Ibn Khordádbeh wrote about A. H. 250 (A. D. 864.) His geography is small, and fills only 127 pages octavo, but it is of immense importance, inasmuch as it consists almost exclusively of official documents, and contains the caravan and dawk stations of the whole empire of the Khalyfs, and the amount of revenue of every district. I have inserted his itineraries in my "*Post-und Reiserouten des Orients*," and some of them will be taken from that compilation and embodied, as Mr. Hyde Clark writes to me, in Murray's *Guide for the East*. I therefore give here a short account of the revenue of the Khalyfs, extracted from Ibn Khordádbeh.

I must premise a few remarks on the weights and measures of the Arabs, making use of the researches which I made on the weights in my *Leben und Lehre des Mohammad*, Vol. III. p. 141, and in an essay on the *Wegmasse und Gradmessung der Aegypter, Griechen und Araber*, which is not yet published.

The standard of the Musulman weights is the Aureus of Constantine: 72 Aurei = 1 Roman pound = 5256 English grains Troy according to Gibbon, = 6165 grains de Paris according to Böckh. The Aureus, considered as the unit of weight, is called *Mithqál*, and may be taken = 4.6 Grammes or somewhat more. This weight of pure gold is according to the present value of the precious metals = 15.97 Francs. The Musulman Dirham is in weight =  $\frac{7}{10}$  *Mithqál*, and if consisting of pure silver, its value is = 72 Centimes. 1 Baghdádian rofl pound (the one mentioned in law-books) = 128 $\frac{4}{7}$  Dirhams = 90 *Mithqáls* = 1 $\frac{1}{4}$  Roman pounds = 409.536 Grammes = 1.1 pound Troy (nearly).

All other Musulman weights we must reduce, if possible, to the *Mithqál* (= *Dynár* = Aureus); for there existed various systems:



the grain and the weights, calculated by the number of grains which they contain, had, in some parts of the empire, and at one time, a greater or lesser value than in other parts and at other periods. There is a grain of which 72 make a Mithqál, there is a grain (شعيرة) of which 100 make a Mithqál, one of which 96 make a Mithqál, one of which  $68\frac{4}{7}$  make a Mithqál, and one of which 60 make a Mithqál, but this grain is called *Habba* and not *Sháyra*. The fact seems to be that the Persians, and after them the Mohommedans, found that the Roman Aurei are more equal in weight than any other coin, and for this reason they used it as standard, calculating the value of their own weight by Aurei. In some cases, slight alterations in the value of their own weights seem to have been made in order to adapt them better to this foreign standard. The apothecaries' weight, as we learn from Avicenna, was Greek, but not without some alteration.

According to the Dictionary of Techn. Terms, p. 176, there existed in the early ages of the Islam the same system as was in later times preserved at Samarqand. It may be expressed as follows :

| Mithqál. | Daneq. | Tassúj. | Habba. | Grain (Sháyra.) |
|----------|--------|---------|--------|-----------------|
| 1        | 6      | 24      | 48     | 96              |
|          | 1      | 4       | 8      | 16              |
|          |        | 1       | 2      | 4               |
|          |        |         | 1      | 2               |
|          |        |         |        | 1               |

Another system or Çanja we find in the Qámús under Makkúk, it may be expressed as follows :

| Mithqál. | Dirhem.        | Dáneq.         | Qyrát.          | Tassúj.         | Habba<br>(grain.) |
|----------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| 1        | $1\frac{3}{7}$ | $8\frac{4}{7}$ | $17\frac{1}{7}$ | $34\frac{2}{7}$ | $68\frac{4}{7}$   |
|          | 1              | 6              | 12              | 24              | 48                |
|          |                | 1              | 2               | 4               | 8                 |
|          |                |                | 1               | 2               | 4                 |
|          |                |                |                 | 1               | 2                 |
|          |                |                |                 |                 | 1                 |

This system is in the Qámús continued beyond the Mithqál, as follows :

| Makkúk. | Kaylaja. | Maná.          | Rotl<br>(pound.) | Ounce. | Istár.         | Mithqál.          |
|---------|----------|----------------|------------------|--------|----------------|-------------------|
| 1       | 3        | $5\frac{5}{8}$ | $11\frac{1}{4}$  | 135    | 225            | $1012\frac{1}{2}$ |
|         | 1        | $1\frac{7}{8}$ | $3\frac{3}{4}$   | 45     | 75             | $337\frac{1}{2}$  |
|         |          | 1              | 2                | 24     | 40             | 180               |
|         |          |                | 1                | 12     | 20             | 90                |
|         |          |                |                  | 1      | $1\frac{2}{3}$ | $7\frac{1}{2}$    |
|         |          |                |                  |        | 1              | $4\frac{1}{2}$    |
|         |          |                |                  |        |                | 1                 |

In this table three systems of weight are brought together : the Roman monetary, the Greek apothecary, and the Persian heavy weights. I ought to observe that the grain of شعيرة in Herat was, even in later times, so small, that 100 such grains were required to make up a Mithqál. In some places 3 *Habba* made a *Tassúj*.

I now insert an abstract of the calculations of 'Alyy *Hasany*, who wrote at Murshidábád in A. H. 1164, transcribed from his autograph.

1 grain of barley = 2 grains of riye = 4 grains of mustard.

1 Másha = 8 Raty = 36 grains of barley = 72 grains of riye.

1 Tola = 12 Mashas = 96 Raties = 9 Dirhams of the law-books =  $6\frac{3}{10}$  Mithqáls.

A Paysa (copper coin) of 'Alamgyr has exactly the weight of one Tola, but the Paysa of Bengal, current in 1164, weighs  $10\frac{1}{2}$  Raties.

1 Sér of 'Alamgyr = 60 Tolas.

1 Man of 'Alamgyr = 40 Sērs.

1 Bengal Rupee = 10 Mashas and 2 Raties.

1 Delhi Rupee = 10 Mashas.

1 Ashrafy = 9 Mashas and 6 Raties.

1 Qyrát =  $\frac{1}{20}$  of a Mithqál of the traditions =  $3\frac{3}{7}$  grains of barley =  $\frac{2}{3}$  Raty and  $\frac{3}{7}$  grain.

1 Dáneq =  $\frac{1}{6}$  Dirhem = 8 grains = 1 Raty and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  grains

1 Dirhem = 6 Dáneq = 48 grains =  $7\frac{7}{10}$  Mithqál =  $10\frac{2}{3}$  Raties.

1 Mithqál =  $68\frac{4}{7}$  grains = 20 Qyrát =  $1\frac{3}{7}$  Dirhams = 14 Raties and  $1\frac{1}{14}$  grains.

1 Rotl of 'Iráq = 130 Dirhems = 91 Mithqáls = 6240 grains =  $\frac{2}{3}$  Rotl of Madyna =  $1380\frac{2}{3}$  Raties.

1 Rotl of Makka = 2 'Iráqy Rotls = 182 Mithqáls = 260 Dirhems = 12480 grains =  $2773\frac{1}{2}$  Raties.

1 Modd =  $292\frac{1}{2}$  Dirhems =  $204\frac{3}{4}$  Mithqáls = 14040 grains =  $2\frac{1}{4}$  Iráqy or Baghdadian Rotls =  $1\frac{1}{2}$  Rotl of Madyna = 3120 Ráties.

According to some, one Modd =  $257\frac{1}{7}$  Dirhems.

1 Qá' = 4 Modd = 1170 Dirhems = 819 Mithqáls = 56108 grains = 12480 Ráties.

1 Korr = 1200 'Iráqy Rotls =  $533\frac{1}{3}$  Modd =  $133\frac{1}{3}$  Qá' = 156000 Dirhems = 109201 Mithqáls = 7488000 grains =  $2070\frac{1}{16}$  Sérs.

1 Wisq = 60 Qá'.

The values of Arabic weights reduced to Indian weights in this table, is certainly wrong. It is incomprehensible, how a man in his senses could believe that one Paysa is as heavy as  $6\frac{3}{16}$  Dynárs or 9 Dirhems. This error seems to arise from the supposition that an Indian grain is exactly equal to the largest Arabic grain, of which  $68\frac{4}{7}$  are sufficient to make a Mithqál, and  $4937\frac{1}{7}$  one Roman pound. Some other data of this table are probably equally incorrect, yet it contains some information which may be useful.

The value of cubic measures for grain is expressed by the Arabs in the weight of the quantity of barley which they contain. At this moment I have no book in which they are explained, and I must refer to dictionaries. Their explanations unfortunately do not square, because the Qá' and the Maná have different values in different authors. According to Abú Hanyfa 1 Qá' of Barley = 8 Rotls; according to Sháfi'y =  $5\frac{1}{3}$  Rotl; according to the Shy'ites = 9 Rotls; and according to Kolyug = 1170 Dirhams =  $9\frac{1}{16}$  Rotls. On the Maná Meninsky says: apud Arabes Hispanos duas libras, apud Asiatas 260 Drachmas appendebat. Maná ægyptiaca, pondus sedecim unciarum; mana græca, pondus 20 unciarum; maná alexandrina pondus 30 unciarum. (Casiri Bib. ar-hisp.)

The measures of importance for our present purpose are the Qafyz, the Korr and the Jaryb.

1 Qafyz = 8 Makkúk (which is not the name of a weight, but of a cubic measure). Consequently 1 Qafyz = 8100 Mithqáls = 90 Rotls. According to Golius, 1 Qafyz = 12 Qá's; or if we take the Qá', with Abú Hanyfa, to 8 Rotls = 96 Rotls.

We find in the Qámús also the following explanation of the Qafyz, نیم ویدہ ویدہ بدست و دو یا بدست و چهار مد بود الذبی باشد

"1 Makkúk =  $\frac{1}{2}$  Wayba; and 1 Wayba = 22 or 24 Modds, that is to say Modds of the prophet." And under Modd he says: "According to the people of 'Irâq, the Modd is equal to two Rotls, and according to the people of Hijáz to  $1\frac{1}{3}$  Rotl;" and lower down he states the value of the Modd of the prophet at one-fourth of a Çá'. Now if we take the Çá', with Abú Hanyfa, at 8 Rotls, the Modd has as in 'Irâq 2 Rotls, and if we take the Çá', with Sháfíy, at  $5\frac{1}{3}$  Rotls, the Modd holds as in Hijáz  $5\frac{1}{3} : 4 = 1\frac{1}{3}$  Rotls; and I therefore suspect that in one place two Rotls, in another place  $1\frac{1}{3}$  Rotls, were called Modd of the prophet. If we take the Modd at two Rotls, we have for the value of the Qafyz  $\frac{2}{3} \times 2 = 24$  Rotls." It is impossible to reconcile this statement with the preceding one.

There are in the Qámús two other definitions of the Makkúk, eight of which make one Qafyz. According to the one, a Makkúk weighs from six to eight ounces, that is to say, half a Rotl or  $\frac{2}{3}$  Rotls. It is impossible that this be the value of the Makkúk in question. According to the other statement, 1 Makkúk =  $1\frac{1}{2}$  Çá' or 12 Rotls, if we give to the Çá' the value of 8 Rotls.

From a passage of Qodáma, it appears that any small measure of corn was called Makkúk-bushel, and that the Makkúk was different in different countries. In the definition of the value of the Qafyz, I think the large Makkúk is meant, and I therefore assume 1 Qafyz = 96 Rotls or Arabian pounds.

The Korr. At this moment I have no access to the Arabic text of the Qámús, but to judge from the Persian translation and from the extracts found in Golius and Freytag, it seems that the Qámús contradicts itself. Freytag, without stating the authority, says, 1 Korr = 12 Wasq (camel-loads) and every Wasq = 60 Çá'. The value of the Wasq or Camel load depends upon the value of the Çá'; it may therefore be 320 or 480 or 540 Rotls. A camel may carry rather more than two hundred weights on either side, and I therefore take 480 to be nearest to truth. A Korr would therefore be equal to 5760 Rotls.

According to the Persian translation of the Qámús, 1 Korr = 6 ass-loads, and one ass-load = 60 Qafyz. Now a donkey carries about half as much as a camel or less, but according to the above statement, 6 ass-loads are = 12 camel-loads. Moreover 60 Qafyz

weigh 5760 Rotls, a burden which no beast is able to carry. It is therefore clear that one Korr contains 60 Qafyz or 12 camel loads of 480 Rotls each. Another statement of the Qámús says, 1 Korr = 40 Irdabb. The Korr is an 'Iráqian (Babylonian), and the Irdabb an Egyptian measure. One Irdabb = 24 Çá' or 6 Wayba. If the Wayba is taken at 24 Modd, and the Modd at  $1\frac{1}{3}$  Rotls, these two valuations agree; for  $24 \times 8 = 24 \times 6 \times 1\frac{1}{3} = 192$  Rotls = 1 Irdabb. Consequently the weight of a Korr = 7680 Rotls. We must bear in mind that this is a reduction of the largest 'Iráqian measure of grain to Egyptian measure, and it is very likely that the value of the Irdabb is stated in Egyptian Rotls, the weight of which I do not know; we can therefore make no use of this definition of the Korr. Golius gives the value of the Korr, on the authority of the Destúr alloghat, at 7100 Rotls. This approaches to the result which we have just found; the question is only, what kind of Rotl is meant, and by what means did the author arrive at this result.

The Jaryb is defined in the Qámús as follows: 1 Jaryb = 4 Qafyz; 1 Qafyz = 8 Makkúk; 1 Makkúk = 3 Kaylaja; and 1 Kaylaja =  $1\frac{7}{8}$  Maná. We see that this statement is a continuation of the one given above in a tabular form; and it seems to be an abstract of a systematical comparison of 'Iráqian weights and measures; and we therefore keep to it. Consequently 15 Jaryb = 1 Korr. I now continue the above table taken from the Qámús.

| Korr. | Jaryb. | Qafyz. | Makkúk. |
|-------|--------|--------|---------|
| 1     | 15     | 60     | 480     |
|       | 1      | 4      | 32      |
|       |        | 1      | 8       |
|       |        |        | 1       |

Consequently one Korr is equal in weight to 486080 Mithqáls or 6750 Roman pounds. I ought to observe that Abú Yúsuf mentions a Jaryb of 7 Qafyz, and that he as well as Ibn Sád say that a man may live on a Jaryb of grain one month. I should think that fifty or sixty Roman pounds would be sufficient for the support of a man; and as the Jaryb of 7 Qafyz contains  $787\frac{1}{2}$  Roman pounds, I am at a loss, how to explain this statement.

The linear measures of the Arabs are probably not essentially different from those of the Greeks. 1 Háschimite or Royal cubit =



2 Greek feet = 32 Arabic inches = 273.32 lignes de Paris. The Arabs have besides a cubit of 24 inches (the ذراع اليد), and one (the black cubit) of 27 inches; the proportion of the former to the Háschimite cubit is as 3 : 4.

Regarding the square measures I am in the dark. According to an extract from the Akhwánalḥafá, inserted by Dieterici in the Zeitsch. d. D.M.G., 1 Jaryb of 10 Qafyz = 3600 Háschimite square cubits. I suspect that there must have existed a Jaryb of  $\frac{7}{4}$  of this value or = 6300 Háschimite square cubits = 22700  $\square$  Pieds de Paris. This is, however, a question which ought to be further investigated by those who have better sources.

The history of the finances of the East, as handed down by the Arabs, begins with the Súsánians, but the two accounts which we have of their revenue, are extremely difficult to be reconciled with each other. Ibn Khordádbēh, p. 42, says : وكان جبى الكسري البروز من خراج مملكته في سنة ثمان عشرة من ملكه اربعة آلاف الف مثقال وعشرون الف الف مثقال يكون ذلك بوزن الدرهم سبع مائة الف الف وخمسة وتسعين الف الف ثم بلغت جباية مملكته ستمائة الف الف مثقال

Qodáma, in my incorrect extracts from the corrupted text, says : يقال ان كسري البروز احصي ناحية المملكة في سنة ثمان عشرة من ملكه و انما كان في يده ما ذكرناه و سمينا اعماله من السواد و ساير النواحي دون اعمال المغرب لان حدة كان الي هيئت و كان ما سمينا من المغرب في ايدي الروم من العين سبع مائة الف و عشرون الف مثقال يكون من الورق ستمائة الف الف درهم

There is no doubt that both accounts refer to the same fact, yet there is only one figure "600 millions of Dirhams" in both identical. This figure appears to me to express the amount of revenue in Musulman Dirhams. Ten Musulman Dirhams are *in weight* equal to 7 Mithqáls, consequently 600 millions Dirhams = 420 millions Mithqáls or 5,833,333 $\frac{1}{3}$  Roman pounds. The first figure of Ibn Khordádbēh is consequently to be read 420 millions instead of 24 millions. At the time of Qodáma 15 Dirhams (silver) had the value of one Dynár or Mithqál (of gold); consequently gold was only 9 $\frac{1}{2}$  times more valuable than silver. It seems, however, that gold had at times a higher rate, and that a pound of gold was equal in value to 10 pounds of silver. 420 Mithqáls of silver were therefore equal to 42 Mithqáls or Dynárs of gold in value. I consequently propose to read in Qodáma 42 mil-

lions instead of 720,000 Dynárs. The only difficulty is caused by the figure of Ibn Khordádbeh, 795 millions Mithqáls (of silver). It is clear that the author wants to say, that after the eighteenth year of Perwyz the revenue increased, and as 795 is a higher sum than 600, I take that this is the highest figure to which the revenue rose during his reign. After these observations I change the figures, and translate the passage of Ibn Khordádbeh as follows: "The Kheráj of the whole kingdom which was gathered for the Chosroes Parwyz in the year 18 of his reign amounts to 420 millions Mithqáls (of silver, read *اربعمائة الف* *الف وعشرون الف*). This makes, reduced to the weight of Musulman Dirhems, 600 millions of Dirhems. Subsequently the revenue of his kingdom rose to 795 Mithqáls."

The passage of Qodáma I translate: "It is asserted that Chosroes Parwyz counted in the year 18 of his reign the revenue (for *جباية* read *ناحية*) of his kingdom. He possessed all the provinces which I have enumerated, the Sawád and the other districts, with the exception of the western part of the Musulman empire; for the frontier of his kingdom was Hyt, and the country west of it belonged to the Greeks. He found that the revenue amounted to 42 millions Mithqáls (of gold), this makes 600 millions of Musulman Dirhams (of silver)."

The Musulman Dirham was not known to the Persians, they counted the revenue, as it seems, in Dirhams which had exactly the weight of a Mithqál or of an aureus of Constantine of which 72 made a Roman pound, and for this reason, in the original account which was used both by Ibn Khordádbeh and Qodáma, the sum was stated in Mithqáls. The money was weighed, and of course, if it contained alloy, deduction was made. We are therefore able to calculate the income with great accuracy, it is equal to 172,800,000 Rupees in value. If we reduce it to English money, we must bear in mind that the proportion of the value of gold to that of silver was not the same as in our days. In the Greek empire, it was fixed by law as  $14\frac{2}{3} : 1$ , and gold was the standard. In the Persian empire, the proportion was probably as  $10 : 1$ , and I am inclined to believe that in the document which Qodáma and Ibn Khordádbeh used, the amount of the revenue was stated both in gold and in silver. I have already observed that at Qodáma's time the proportion was  $9\frac{1}{2} : 1$ , and I have shown (das

Leben des Moh., Vol. 3, p. 136) that in Mahomedan law, it is as  $8\frac{2}{3}$  : 1 and even as 7 : 1.

In Persia silver was the standard, in the Byzantian empire gold. The Musulmans made no change : in the provinces which had belonged to the kingdom of the Sasanians, silver remained the standard, and in Syria, Egypt and other provinces which they took from the Greeks, gold continued as the standard. In Makka and Madyna, silver became the standard as early as Omar I., but in southern Arabia the revenue was calculated by 'Dyñárs (Aurei.) The great difference of the value which gold had at Constantinople under Constantine, and which it had in the Sasanian and later in the Arabic empire, throws an unexpected light upon the relative prosperity of the two countries. The fact requires no comment for those who know the elements of Political Economy.

Ibn Khordádbeh begins his geography with a description of the Sawád—Babylonia. Immediately after the Musulmans had conquered that country, 'Omar I. sent 'Othmán b. Honayf to survey it for the sake of assessment. It appears that he measured the cultivated land of every district, and also for the sake of control the whole country *en bloc*. He found that it is from Hadytha in the north to 'Abbadán in the south 125 farsangs long, and from Holwán in the east to 'Odzojb in the west 85 farsangs wide. The whole surface of cultivated and waste land (عامرو غامر) amounts therefore to 10625 □ farsangs or 136607143 Jaryb. Ibn Khordádbeh (MS. of Oxford) and Qodáma calculate the surface in round figures at 136 millions of Jaryb.

Under the Sásanian king, Qobád b. Fyróz, the revenue of the Sávád amounted to 150 millions Mithqáls (of silver or Persian Dirhams) = more than 2 millions Roman pounds of silver = more than 214 millions of Musulman Dirhams. After the Musulman conquest, 'Omar I. derived a revenue of 120 millions Dirhams from it. This sum is named by Ibn Khordádbeh and Qodáma. Ibn Sád includes the revenue of Jebel and mentions a higher sum, but as two figures are wanting in his text, we cannot make out what he means, his words are مائة ألف ألف وعشرون ألف ألف و الف (الف) والواق (آلاف) درهم ونصف

I shall speak on the assessment of 'Omar lower down. Here I will only observe that the 120 millions are made up by the land-tax and

capitation. The latter may have amounted to 7 millions : the male population of full age consisted of 500,000 souls, and the poorer classes had to pay 12, the middling classes 24, and the rich 48 Dirhams ; supposing one in a thousand paid the highest, and one in a hundred the middling rate of capitation, this tax yielded 7,000,000 Dirhems and the land tax 113,000,000 Dirhems.

We see that the total income which 'Omar I. derived from the land of the Sawád is little more than half of that which it yielded under Qobád. It is not unlikely that 'Omar assessed it somewhat lighter, but the main cause of the diminution of revenue was the decay of the country. Babylonia has some resemblance with Holland, and the Sunderbunds, being the Delta of the Euphrates and Tigris ; and it appears that great efforts have been made in former times to drain it and to protect it from inundation by dykes, and in measure as they were neglected, the land was converted into swamps. We find *paludes* in the map of Ptolemy, but they seem to have been of no great extent. The Tigris carries much silt, which is partly deposited in its bed, where it slackens its course, and consequently in the progress of time the bed became higher and threatened to inundate the country. To prevent this calamity, it was dammed in below Baçra, and the course was regulated : it was made straight, so that the water might carry off the deposit. During the reign of Qobád (probably after the time at which he derived so high a revenue from the Sawád) the dyke was broken through below Kaskar, and the neighbouring country was inundated, but the government took no notice. Anushyrván had the dykes restored and much of the land was recovered. In the year 6 of the Hijra (A. D. 628) both the Euphrates and the Tigris swoll amazingly, and destroyed many of the dykes. King Parwyz showed great energy, and it is asserted that in one day no less than 40 gaps were filled up ; yet though he granted great sums from the public treasury for the repairs, he was unable to remedy the evil. A few years later, the Arabs waged war against the Persians. The dykes were in consequence completely neglected, and the swamps gained in extent. The Musulmans, after they had conquered the country, seem not to have paid any attention to the matter, and the Dihqáns—heads of districts—were unable to repair the dykes. Mo'awiya I. sent his client 'Abd Allah b. Darráj to Babylonia as collector, and he seems



to have been the first Mahommedan who recovered some land. Much greater efforts were made by the Nabathean *Hassán*, who was collector under the reigns of *Walýd* and *Hischám b. Abd al-Malik*, and cut two canals to carry off the water. In A. H. 75, *Hajjáj* was appointed governor of *Babylonia*. He represented to *Walýd II.*, that the drainage of the country would cost three millions of *Dirhams*. The *Khalyf* thought he could spend the money more pleasantly on eunuchs and singers, and refused to grant so large a sum. *Moslíma b. 'Abd al-Málik*, a relation of the *Khalyf*, proposed to him to drain part of the swamps, under the condition that he should draw the revenue of the recovered land. The *Khalyf* accepted the offer, and *Moslíma* cut the two canals called *Saylaya*, and raised dykes. He succeeded in recovering a great extent of land, and the peasantry flocked to him to cultivate it. His family continued to derive the revenue from it up to the time of the overthrow of the *Omayyide* Dynasty. The '*Abbáside* *Khalyf* granted it to one of his relations, *Dáwud b. 'Alyy b. 'Abd Allah b. 'Abbás*. His heirs remained for some time in possession of it, but eventually it was considered as one of the crown-lands الضياع السلطانية

In A. H. 75 *Hajjáj* was appointed governor of *Babylonia*, and he ruled 20 years over that country. *Ibn Khordádbēh* says of the financial condition of the country during his sway: "The revenue gathered by *Hajjáj* did not amount to more than 18 millions *Dirhams*, and there was consequently a diminution of one hundred (and two) millions. This was owing to his burning down villages, and to his oppression. Moreover he was obliged to give advances to the cultivators to the amount of two millions, so that only 16 millions reached the public treasury." It seems that the peasantry fled, for under the just '*Omar II.* who ruled in A.H. 99, the revenue of the *Sawád* suddenly rose to 124 millions.

It is a very unexpected fact that at the time of *Ibn Khordádbēh* not only the limits, but also the names of the districts were in the official language precisely the same which had been in use among the *Sásánians*, nay some of them seem to be even more ancient than the *Sásánians*; for we neither find a district called *Baghdád*, nor one called *Madáyin* (*Ctesiphon*). The province in which these two cities lie, is called *Shád-Hormuz* and the district *Kalwadzá*, from an ancient town half way between *Baghdád* and *Madáyin*.



The Sawád is divided into 12 Kúr, provinces, and originally it contained 60 *Tasásyj*, districts, but at the time of Ibn Khordádbēh only forty-eight. The whole province of *Holwán*, containing five districts, was added to *Jebel*. We have seen that Ibn Sád includes in reference to the time of 'Omar I. the revenue of *Jebel* in that of the Sawád. He probably means that of *Holwán* only, which at the time of 'Omar and of the Omayyids may have belonged to the Sawád. The province of the *Tigris*, containing 4 districts, was given to the Government of *Bağra*; and it is very likely that the crops which it had to supply to the State, were destined for the support of the troops stationed there. This, however, can only apply to the time of the 'Abbásides, for in former days they received their supply from *Máh-Bağra* in Persia, which under the Abbásides was placed under another Government. One whole district had become a swamp and disappeared altogether. Two districts (one of them is lower *Behqobád*) had been converted into crown lands after the system of *Khorásán*. In this manner, the Sawád was shortened by 12 districts and reduced to forty-eight.

I insert here a detailed account of the revenue of the Sawád, according to *Qodáma*, and also (distinguished by asterisks) one according to Ibn Khordádbēh. In a very few instances I deviate from *Barbier de Meynard's* text, and follow my own copy of the MS. of Oxford. *Qodáma* says of his account, it contains the income as it stands at present. I take the mean since the year 184, this being the first year of which documents are found in the public offices at *Baghdád*; for the earlier records were destroyed by fire during the disturbances which took place in 183 under *Amyn*, known under the name of *Ibn Zobayda*.

*Western side of the Sawád watered* No. of No. of

*by the Tigris and Euphrates.* Villages. Barns. Wheat. Barley. Dirhams.

|                        |     |    |     |            |       |             |       |
|------------------------|-----|----|-----|------------|-------|-------------|-------|
| Anbár and Nahr-Ma'rúf, | ... | —  | —   | 118,000(?) | 6,400 | 4,000       | 0,000 |
| *Anbár (alone),        | ... | 5  | 250 | 2,300      | 1,400 | 150,000     |       |
| Qotrobbol,             | ... | —  | —   | 2,000      | 1,000 | 3,000       | 0,000 |
| *Ditto,                | ... | 10 | 220 | 2,000      | 1,000 | 300 (sic !) |       |
| Maskan,                | ... | —  | —   | 3,000      | 1,000 | 150,000     |       |
| *Ditto,                | ... | 6  | 105 | 3,000      | 1,000 | 300,000     |       |
| Bádúryya,              | ... | —  | —   | 3,500      | 1,000 | 1,000       | 0,000 |

|                                                                                                                           |     |     | No. of<br>Villages. | No. of<br>Barns. | Wheat. | Barley. | Dirhams.   |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-----|---------------------|------------------|--------|---------|------------|
| *Bádúryya,                                                                                                                | ... | ... | 14                  | 420              | 3,500  | 1,000   | 1,000,000  |
| Nahr-Shyr,                                                                                                                | ... | ... | —                   | —                | 1,700  | 1,700   | 150,000    |
| *Ditto,                                                                                                                   | ... | ... | 10                  | 240              | 1,700  | 1,700   | 5,000(sic) |
| Rúmayán,                                                                                                                  | ... | ... | —                   | —                | 3,300  | 3,300   | 150,000    |
| *Ditto,                                                                                                                   | ... | ... | 10                  | 220              | 3,300  | 3,050   | 350,000    |
| Kúthá,                                                                                                                    | ... | ... | —                   | —                | 3,000  | 2,000   | 350,000    |
| *Ditto,                                                                                                                   | ... | ... | 9                   | 220              | 3,000  | 2,000   | 350,000    |
| Darqyt,                                                                                                                   | ... | ... | —                   | —                | 2,000  | 2,000   | 200,000    |
| *Ditto,                                                                                                                   | ... | ... | 9                   | 125              | 2,000  | 2,000   | 200,000    |
| Jubara,                                                                                                                   | ... | ... | —                   | —                | 1,500  | 6,000   | 1,500,000  |
| *Ditto,                                                                                                                   | ... | ... | 10                  | 227              | 1,700  | 6,000   | 150,000    |
| The three Zábs,                                                                                                           | ... | ... | —                   | —                | 1,400  | 7,200   | 250,000    |
| *Ditto,                                                                                                                   | ... | ... | 12                  | 244              | 1,400  | 7,200   | 250,000    |
| Bábel and Khaternyya,                                                                                                     | ... | ... | —                   | —                | 3,000  | 5,000   | 350,000    |
| *Ditto,                                                                                                                   | ... | ... | 16                  | 378              | —      | —       | 350,000    |
| Upper-Falúja,                                                                                                             | ... | ... | —                   | —                | 500    | 500     | 70,000     |
| *Ditto,                                                                                                                   | ... | ... | 15                  | 240              | 1,500  | 500     | 70,000     |
| Lower-Falúja,                                                                                                             | ... | ... | —                   | —                | 2,000  | 30,000  | 280,000    |
| *Ditto,                                                                                                                   | ... | ... | 6                   | 72               | 1,000  | 3,000   | 280,000    |
| The two Canals,                                                                                                           | ... | ... | —                   | —                | 300    | 400     | 45,000     |
| *Ditto,                                                                                                                   | ... | ... | 3                   | 81               | 300    | 400     | 45,000     |
| 'Ayn-Tamr,                                                                                                                | ... | ... | —                   | —                | 300    | 400     | 45,000     |
| *Ditto,                                                                                                                   | ... | ... | 3                   | 14               | 300    | 400     | 51,000     |
| Jenna and Bedát,                                                                                                          | ... | ... | —                   | —                | 1,500  | 1,600   | 150,000    |
| *Ditto,                                                                                                                   | ... | ... | 8                   | 71               | 1,200  | 1,600   | 150,000    |
| Súra and Barbysiya,                                                                                                       | ... | ... | —                   | —                | 1,500  | 4,500   | 250,000    |
| *Ditto,                                                                                                                   | ... | ... | 10                  | 265              | 700    | 2,400   | 100,000    |
|                                                                                                                           |     |     |                     |                  |        | (rice)  |            |
| Banyama and King's Canal,                                                                                                 | ... | ... | —                   | —                | 3,500  | 4,000   | 112,000    |
| *Ditto,                                                                                                                   | ... | ... | 10                  | 664              | 1,500  | 4,500   | 250,000    |
| Upper and lower Bús,                                                                                                      | ... | ... | —                   | —                | 500    | 5,500   | 150,000    |
| *Tithes of lands belonging to the<br>church or charities and from<br>lands called Sanyn situated in<br>various districts, | ... | ... | —                   | —                | 500    | 5,500   | 250,000    |
| Forát-Badaqla,                                                                                                            | ... | ... | —                   | —                | 2,000  | 2,500   | 62,000     |

|                          |     |     | No. of<br>Villages. | No. of<br>Barns. | Wheat. | Barley. | Dirhams. |
|--------------------------|-----|-----|---------------------|------------------|--------|---------|----------|
| Forát-Badaqla,           | ... | ... | 10                  | 271              | 2,000  | 2,500*  | 900,000  |
| Silhayn, ...             | ... | ... | —                   | —                | 1,000  | 1,500   | 140,000  |
| *Ditto,                  | ... | ... | —                   | 34               | 1,000  | 1,500   | 140,000  |
| Rúmistán and Hormuzjerd, | ... | ... | —                   | —                | 500    | 500     | 20,000   |
| *Ditto,                  | ... | ... | —                   | —                | 500    | 500     | 10,000   |
| Nister, ...              | ... | ... | —                   | —                | 2,200  | 2,000   | 300,000  |
| *Ditto,                  | ... | ... | 7                   | 163              | 1,250  | 2,000*  | 300,000  |
| Ighár of Yaqtyn,         | ... | ... | —                   | —                | 2,200  | 2,000   | 204,800  |
| *Ditto,                  | ... | ... | —                   | —                | —      | —       | 200,840  |

*At the junction of the two rivers.*

The provinces of Kesker : it is said

the revenue formerly amounted

to 90000 Dirhams, ... — — 30,000 20,000 270,000

\*Kesker and canal of Çillah, Riq-

qat and Reyán, the Kheráj and

all other taxes yield, ... — — 3,000 20,000 70,000,000

(and rice)

Nahr Çilla, ... — — 1,000 3,121 59,000

*Eastern side of the Sawád.*

Buzurg-Sábúr, ... — — 2,500 2,200 300,000

\*Ditto, ... 9 260 2,500 2,200 300,000

The two Rádán, ... — — 4,800 4,800 120,000

\*Ditto, ... 19 362 4,800 1,800 120,000

Canal of Búq, ... — — 200 1,000 100,000

\*Ditto, ... — — 200 1,000 100,000

Kalwádzá and Canal of Byn, ... — — 1,600 1,500 330,000

\*Ditto, ... 3 34 1,600 1,500 330,000

Jádzer, old town المدينة العتيقة — — 1,000 1,500 240,000

\*Ditto, ... 9 116 1,000 1,400 250,000

Galúlá and Halúlá, ... — — 1,000 1,000 100,000

\*Ditto, ... 5 76 1,000 1,000 100,000

Desyn, ... — — 1,900 1,300 40,000

\*Ditto, ... 4 230 700 1,300 40,000

Deskere, ... — — 1,800 1,400 60,000

\*Ditto, ... 7 44(?) 1,000 1,000 70,000

\* Barley and rice.

|                                    |     |     | No. of<br>Villages. | No. of<br>Barns. | Wheat. | Barley. | Dirhams.  |
|------------------------------------|-----|-----|---------------------|------------------|--------|---------|-----------|
| Beráz alrúd, ...                   | ... | ... | —                   | —                | 3,000  | 5,100   | 120,000   |
| *Ditto, ...                        | ... | ... | 6                   | 26(?)            | 3,000  | 2,000   | 120,000   |
| Bandanjayn, ...                    | ... | ... | —                   | —                | 600    | 500     | 35,000    |
| *Ditto, ...                        | ... | ... | 5                   | 54               | 600    | 500     | 100,000   |
| *The three Nahrawán, ...           | ... | ... | 21                  | 380              | —      | —       | —         |
| Upper Nahrawán, ...                | ... | ... | —                   | —                | 1,700  | 1,300   | 53,000    |
| *Ditto, ...                        | ... | ... | —                   | —                | 2,700  | 1,800   | 350,000   |
| Middle Nahrawán, ...               | ... | ... | —                   | —                | 1,000  | 500     | 100,000   |
| *Ditto, ...                        | ... | ... | —                   | —                | 1,000  | 500     | 100,000   |
| Lower Nahrawán, ...                | ... | ... | —                   | —                | 1,000  | 1,200   | 150,000   |
| Baduráyá and Baksáyá, ...          | ... | ... | —                   | —                | 4,700  | 5,000   | 33,000    |
| *Ditto ditto, ...                  | ... | ... | 7                   | —                | 4,700  | 5,000   | 330,000   |
| Rustuqbád, ...                     | ... | ... | —                   | —                | 1,000  | 1,400   | 246,000   |
| Silsyl and Mahrúd, ...             | ... | ... | —                   | —                | 2,000  | 1,500   | 150,000   |
| The Kúra (provinces) of the Tigris |     |     |                     |                  |        |         |           |
| yielded in A.H. 260 (266?),        | —   | —   | —                   | —                | 9,000  | 4,000   | 480,000   |
| Land-tax of the Kura (provinces)   |     |     |                     |                  |        |         |           |
| of the Tigris, ...                 | ... | ... | —                   | —                | —      | —       | 8,500,000 |

In reference to the Ighár of Yaqtyn, mentioned in the preceding list, Qodáma says, no mention was made of it in the days of the Persians, nor was there such an Ighár existing in their times. Yaqtyn had claims on the government, and he received as payment lands in various districts, subsequently they lapsed to the government, and they were called Ighár of Yaqtyn. The canal of Qilla was dug by order of Mahdiy in the districts of Wásit, and thereby a good deal of waste land was reclaimed. The produce (of the Ighar and of the reclaimed land) was destined for prayers and defraying other expenses in the two holy places (Makka and Madyna). It is said the arrangement was made that two-fifths of the crops were to be given up by the cultivators for this purpose. This settlement was to last fifty years, after the lapse of which a new settlement was to be made.

Ighár (إيغار) is correctly explained by Barbier de Meynard, dict. geogr. de la Perse, p. 65, "Il s'applique à une ville ou à une propriété qui, moyennant une certaine somme stipulée une fois pour toutes, et payée chaque année directement au soulthan, est exemptée de la visite et du contrôle des percepteurs du fisc." Qodamá defines it

الايجار هو ان تحمي الضيعة من ان يدخلها احد من العمال و اسباب بها يامر الامام به من وضع شي عليها يودي في السنة اما في بيت المال او غيره من الامصار

“Ighár (protection against danger) means, that a landed tenure is exempt from the visits of the collectors and from what is connected with them (rapacity and oppression), in consequence of an order of the head of the State which fixes a certain annual quit-rent to be paid either into the public treasury, or into the treasury for the support of a military cantonment.” The principal advantage of an Ighár consisted in being free from those harpies, the Omlas.

The provinces of the Tigris which form the last and largest item, may be those which were ceded to the Baġra government, and they seem to answer to those enumerated by Barbier de Meynard, p. 133, under Nos. V. and VI.

Some of the figures in the preceding table, taken from the very incorrect copy of Qodāma, are certainly erroneous, and may be corrected by comparing them with those of Ibn Khordádbēh. It must, however, be borne in mind that the data reported by the two authors are not in all instances the same. At the time of Ibn Khordádbēh, for instance, the whole of the revenue of the Tigris provinces seems to have been levied in cash, at the time of Qodāma partly in cash and partly in kind. For us the sum total alone is of some interest, and this is given by Qodāma, who says, وذلك ارتفاع السواد سوى اصدقات البصرة من الحنطة ١١٧٢٠٠ كرو ومن الشعير ٩٩٧٢١ كرو ومن الورق ٨٠٩٥٨٠٠ درهم يكون عن الغلات باواساط الاسعار وهو حساب الكرين المقربين من الحنطة والشعير ستين ديناراً وهو من العين ورقاعلي صرف خمسة عشر درهماً بدينار ١٠٠٣٦١٨٥٠ درهماً مجموع ذلك الي الورق ١٠٨٤٥٧٦٥٠ وكانت صدقة البصرة ترتفع في السنة ٦٠٠٠٠٠٠ فجميع رتقاع لي ما يين من التسعين على العبر المبنية ١١٨٤٥٧٦٥٠ درهم

“The revenue of the Sawád, exclusive the poor rates of Baġra, consists of 117,600 Korrs of wheat, 99,721 Korrs of barley, and 8,095,800 Dirhams of silver. The grain at the mean market price, that is to say at the rate of two Korrs, one of wheat and one of barley at 60 Dynárs, taking one Dynár at the present rate of exchange equal to 15 Dirhams, is worth 100,361,850 Dirhams. Adding this sum to the cash payments, there results a total of 108,457,650 Dirhams. The poor rates of Baġra amount annually to six million Dirhams, the



average revenue is therefore (some words unintelligible) 114,457,650 Dirhams."

These data enable us to calculate the price of grain at the time of Qodáma. We convert the 100,361,850 Dirhams into Dynárs, by dividing the number by 15, and we obtain 6,690,790 Dynárs. With this money we purchase all the barley, and as many Korrs of wheat as there are Korrs of barley. Our expenditure amounts to  $99,721 \times 60 = 5,983,260$  Dynárs to spend and 17,879 Korrs of wheat to buy. If we divide the former number by the latter, we find that the Korr of wheat costs  $19\frac{1}{2}$  (i. e. 39 Dynárs and 10 Kiráts), and consequently the Korr of barley  $20\frac{1}{2}$  Dynárs. The result cannot be far from the truth; for at the time of Mohammad wheat was at Madyna twice as dear as barley (comp. my *Leben des Moh.*, Vol. 3, p. 140), and consequently, if one Korr of wheat and one Korr of barley together cost 60 Dynárs, the price of wheat ought to be 40 and that of barley 20 Dynárs. But there remains much too great a cost in the division than that Qodáma should have neglected it. I therefore propose to read 117,691 Korrs of wheat instead of 117,600. If we adopt this reading, a Korr of wheat cost 39 Dynárs and  $7\frac{1}{2}$  Kiráts (20 Kiráts = 1 Dynár) and a Korr of barley 20 Dynárs  $12\frac{1}{2}$  Kiráts. A pound of bread (English weight) may have cost about 3 farthings.

In Qodáma occurs the following passage regarding the assessment of 'Omar I. قال القاسم بن سلام ان عمر بن الخطاب بعث عثمان بن حنيف الانصاري فمسم السواد فوجدته ستة و ثلثين الف الف جريب فوضع على كل جريب عامر وغامر يبلغه الماء قفيزا و درهما قال القاسم و بلغني ان ذلك القفيز كان مكوكا لهم يدعي الشابر قاني وقال يحيى بن ادم هو المكنون السجاسي

Qásim b. Sallám asserts that 'Omar, the son of Khaṭṭab, sent 'Othmán b. Honayf of Madyna, and that this 'Othmán measured the Sawád, and found that it contained 36 (sic) millions Jarybs, and he imposed upon every Jaryb of land, cultivated or fallow, provided it could be irrigated, a tax of one Qafyz and one Dirham. Qásim says, I have heard that this Qafyz was a cubic measure then in use in the Sawád, and that it was called Shabirqány. Yahya b. Adam says it is identical with the Makhtúm of Hajjáj.

This account differs from that of other authors, who record that 'Omar I. assessed the Sawád as follows:—

|                                     |            |
|-------------------------------------|------------|
| Every Jaryb of Barley, .....        | 2 Dirhams. |
| „ „ „ Wheat, .....                  | 4 „        |
| „ „ „ Vineyards and orchards, ..... | 6 „        |
| „ „ „ Date plantations, .....       | 8 „        |

The assessment of Omar was according to a tradition of Jábir by himself called *Tasq* طشق Freytag considers this term cognate with the expression of the Arabic Christians *Taqs* طقس, and it is perhaps also related with *qist*. No doubt it is derived from the same Greek word from which our tax comes. I believe, but am not sure, it was a *permanent* settlement, though owing to the disposition of the rulers and to circumstances, changes have taken place. The term *tasq* is applicable only to taxes levied from conquered land.

It is pretty certain that the land-tax amounted to about one-half of the value of the produce. Qodáma speaks of the tithes, and then he continues وضعنا علي حسب المقاسمات فوضع طسق الاستان علي ذلك انه مني احتيج الي تعشير ارض اخذ من طسق الاستان الخمس لان خمس النصف عشر الاصل The taxes on conquered land have been fixed in accordance to the annual produce (of several years); consequently the tax of a district has been fixed agreeably to justice. In proof thereof we may mention that in case it be necessary to convert *tasq*-land into tithe-land, one-fifth of the original *tasq* of the district is taken, because  $\frac{x}{2} : 5 = \frac{x}{10}$  ( $x$ , in the original الاصل means in this case the value of the produce.)

I believe we may safely infer from this passage that in the assessment of conquered lands, the same rules prevailed as in fixing the amount of tithe, with the only difference that one-half instead of one-tenth was levied. The general rule was that land which was watered without the expense of labour, paid the whole tithe.

If labour was expended, one-half of the tithe or more was taken. Thus, if land was watered twice by a canal running through it, or if it was three times irrigated by means of a bucket by which water is raised from a canal, the tithe amounted not to ten, but to seven per cent., viz. 4 per cent. for the canal and 3 per cent. for the bucket.

The 'Abbásides changed the system of revenue in the Sawád. Qodáma says: Abú 'Obayd Allah Mo'áwiyya b. 'Abd Allah, the

secretary (Kátib) of the Khalyf Mahdiy reported on the inconveniences which arose, if the *tasq*-payers were obliged to pay a fixed sum of money, or to supply a certain quantity of grain, and he proposed that the taxes should be calculated (annually) by the Jaryb, as there was no telling whether the prices would sink or rise. In the one case the cultivator, in the other the government were in the disadvantage. The best thing, he thought, would be to introduce the same rule which the prophet adopted with regard to Khanghar : he left to the inhabitants the land under the condition that they were to give up to him one-half of the produce (as much the cultivators ought to give up from irrigated land) ; but if the labour of irrigation was very hard, they ought to give up only one-fourth ; and if it was less hard, one-third. The choice was to be left to the farmers to give up as much straw\* to government as was due to it (*i. e.*  $\frac{1}{2}$  or  $\frac{1}{3}$  or  $\frac{1}{4}$  according to circumstances), or to sell it and pay the tax according to the market price of grain. In fixing the amount of revenue on vineyards, trees of every description, vegetables and every kind of produce, agreeably to the dictates of justice, the nett price which would be realized by the sale was to be calculated, taking into consideration what distance the land was from the market or harbour, and how great the expense and loss of time would be for bringing it there. After all these deductions one-half was to be charged as revenue.

This system of revenue, which was eventually introduced, and by which the above detailed statements of Ibn Khordádbeh and Qodáma are to be explained, is called *Moqásima*, a term which is used up to this day in India very nearly in the same signification as it was used at the time of our author : "partition of the actual crop between the cultivator and the State, either in kind or in value."

Certain it is that one-half of the produce was taken from the cultivators by the 'Abbásides ; but it is not certain whether 'Omar made so high a settlement as to deprive the farmers of the value of one-half, and whether the above passage of Qodáma is applicable to the time previous to the Abbáside dynasty. But we may safely assume that even at the time of 'Omar I. the revenue amounted to two-fifths. Now if a Jaryb of wheat paid 4 Dirhams to Government, the value of the whole produce of a Jaryb could not be more than

\* In the original تبن

10 Dirhams. This does not square either with the prices of grain in those days, nor with the size of the Jaryb which I have found. There must be something wrong in my calculations, and I therefore would call the attention of men in India, who take an interest in such matters, to the subject. They have means of ascertaining facts connected with revenue and agriculture, which are wanting in Europe.

I now insert a statement of the revenue of the other provinces of the empire of the Khalyfs, according to Qodáma.\* He usually gives the numbers and names of the districts into which every province was divided for the sake of administration, and states the totals of the revenue. As the MS. is very incorrect, I omit the names of districts and confine myself to the provinces :

|                                                                                | Dirhams.   |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Ahwáz, .....                                                                   | 18,000,000 |
| Fáris, .....                                                                   | 24,000,000 |
| Kermán, .....                                                                  | 6,000,000  |
| Mekrán, the Moqátea amounted, .....                                            | 1,000,000  |
| Ispahán, .....                                                                 | 10,500,000 |
| Sijistan, the Irtifá' revenue, according to agree-<br>ment, amounted to, ..... | 1,000,000  |
|                                                                                | <hr/>      |
|                                                                                | 60,500,000 |
|                                                                                | <hr/>      |

Khorásán. If I understand right, this immense province was leased to Abd Allah b. Táhir, that is to say, he received the whole revenue, defrayed the expenses of administration, and kept the surplus after having sent the tax to the treasury of the Khalyf in cash including the value of a certain number of horses and slaves furnished to him, 38,000,000

|                                         |           |
|-----------------------------------------|-----------|
| Máh-Kúfa, <i>i. e.</i> Daynawar, .....  | 1,000,000 |
| Máh-Bağra, <i>i. e.</i> Nohawand, ..... | 800,000   |
| Hamadán, .....                          | 1,700,000 |
| Masibzán, .....                         | 1,100,000 |
| Mahrján-Qazaq, .....                    | 1,200,000 |
| Qomm and Qóshán, .....                  | 3,000,000 |

\* Which may be compared with that of Ibn Khordádbeh.

|                                                 |                 |
|-------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Azerbyjan, Ardebyl, Marand, &c., .....          | 4,500,000       |
| Rayy,.....                                      | 20,000,000      |
| Qazwyn in A. H. 237, .....                      | 2,628,000       |
| Qúmis, .....                                    | 1,105,000       |
| Jorján, .....                                   | 4,000,000       |
| Táberistán and Ámol in A. H. 234, .....         | 200,163,070 (?) |
| Tikryt, Sonn and Bawázij (on the Tigris), ..... | 700,000         |
| Mosúl pays into the treasury of the Khalyf, ... | 2,750,000       |
| But the revenue of Mosul amounts to,.....       | 6,800,000       |
| Jazyra Ibn 'Omar (close by Mosul), .....        | 4,635,000       |
| Arzen, .....                                    | 4,100,000       |
| Tarún in Armenia, the Moqáte'a amounts to, ..   | 100,000         |
| Armenia, the Irtifá' revenue amounts to, .....  | 400,000         |
| Diyár Momiur (northern Mesopotadha), .....      | 6,000,000       |
| Taryq Forát (west bank of Euphrates), .....     | 2,700,000       |
|                                                 | <hr/>           |
|                                                 | 17,935,000      |
|                                                 | <hr/>           |

Dynárs.

|                                                                    |           |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| Aleppo and Qinnesryn, .....                                        | 360,000   |
| Homç, .....                                                        | 118,000   |
| Damascus, .....                                                    | 110,000   |
| Jordan, .....                                                      | 195,000   |
| Egypt and the coast of the Mediterranean as<br>far as Barqa, ..... | 2,500,000 |
| Haramayn, <i>i. e.</i> Northern Arabia, .....                      | 100,000   |
| Southern Arabia (Yaman), .....                                     | 600,000   |
| Bahrayn in A. H. 237, .....                                        | 510,000   |
| 'Omán, .....                                                       | 300,000   |

The author concludes : " These are the provinces, as we have enumerated them, and this is the amount of revenue which they yield. We stated the average ; sometimes it is in some places larger, sometimes less. We pay no attention to these fluctuations, they are due to the want of good administration. The reader will find that the whole revenue which we have enumerated amounts to about 4,920,000 Dynárs, which make, at the present rate of exchange, the Dynár at 15 Dirhams, 73,800,000 Dirhams."



This sum represents 68,347 Roman pounds of gold, and does not amount to much more than two millions sterling, but this is only the revenue of the western provinces where the Dynár was the currency. It is true, if we cast up the above items, we obtain a sum which falls short by 127,000 Dynárs of the sum stated by Qodáma. This, however, is evidently owing to an omission or a mistake in the text.

If we omit in the item Tabaristan, the two hundred millions as being evidently too large, the revenue of the eastern provinces including the Sawád amounts to 223,487,320 Dirhams, or 2,171,404 Roman pounds of pure silver, or about 162 millions of francs. The income of the whole empire, as it was at the time of Qodáma, did not therefore amount quite to  $8\frac{1}{2}$  million pounds sterling. But we must recollect that a great proportion of it was the nett income, after all expenses of administration had been defrayed, and may be considered as the civil list of the Khalyf.

The study of the finances of the glorious Khalyfs would be edifying for discontented Musulmans in India. The Khalyfs, like Indian princes, squandered away the money in debauchery, ground down the people to the dust, surrounded themselves with Tartar mercenaries, who soon became a pretorian guard, full of insolence and insubordination. These deposed or put to death the Khalyf at pleasure, and no longer content with putting on the screw as tightly as possible, they plundered the provinces; and now those countries are so completely depopulated, that many a district, which at the time of Qodáma yielded a revenue of more than a million of Dirhams, cannot pay as many cowries.

There is much good in the Islám and in the Musulmans, but they have a great deal to learn, before they will be able to administer their own affairs.

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## LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The learned Professor Mahes'achandra Nyáyaratna, of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, has just brought out a new edition of the *Kávyá Prakás'a*, a treatise on Sanskrit Rhetoric by Mammāṭa Bhaṭṭa. It is illustrated by a number of explanatory notes by the editor, and has an excellent introductory essay. The last is a new feature in a Sanskrit book edited by a modern Pundit. It gives a summary of the principal works on Rhetoric in Sanskrit, their ages and characteristics, the relation which the work of Mammāṭa Bhaṭṭa bears to them, the number of manuscripts used in printing it, its contents and age, and a variety of other interesting literary and critical notices.

The Professors of the Benares Sanskrit College have started a monthly journal devoted to Sanskrit Literature. It is named THE PUNDIT, and is intended to serve as a vehicle for the "publication of rare Sanskrit works which appear worthy of careful editing hereafter; to offer a field for the discussion of controverted points in old Indian Philosophy, Philology, History and Literature; to communicate ideas between the Arian scholars of the East and the West; between the Pundits of Benares and Calcutta and the Sanskritists of the Universities of Europe." The first three numbers, already published, contain, among other articles, two cantos of the second half of the *Kumára Sambhava*, short notices of topics on Indian Astronomy and Logic, and a reprint of the late Dr. Ballantyne's essay on the Nyáya.

Pundit Rangácharí Swámí, of Brindábun, has published, for gratuitous distribution, a Sanskrit pamphlet entitled *Durjana-kari-pan-chánana*. Its object is to prove the authenticity of the present form of Vaishṇava worship, and to refute the opinion of the court pundits of Jaipur, who maintain that there is no ordinance in the shasters to justify the worship of Govindají, the great idol of that place, and accordingly recommend that it should be cast out of its temple. The author, in his little book, displays consummate polemical powers, and a thorough knowledge of the literature of the Vaishṇavas.



DIRECTION TO BINDERS.

Plates VII. and IX. to accompany Part I. No. II.

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# JOURNAL

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PART I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. III.—1866.

*A notice of the Çaunaka Smṛiti. By Professor GEORGE BÜHLER,  
Superintendent of Sanskrit Studies, Punah College.*

[Received 26th Sept., 1865.]

There is a passage in the introduction to Shadguruçishya's commentary on the Sarvânukramaṇī,\* which professes to give an account of the life and works of the ancient sage and writer on the Rig Veda, Çaunaka. It is stated there that Kátyáyana, who compiled the Sarvânukramaṇī, or "general index to the Rig Veda" from the separate indexes made by Çaunaka, knew and studied ten works ascribed to this author. The last, in the list given there, is "the Smárta" or work on matters relating to traditional laws on ceremonies. In the Mánavadharmaçástra (III. 16) Çaunaka is also mentioned as a writer on law, and in modern works, such as the Dattakamímámsá, Dattakachandriká, Nirpayasindhu, Samskárakaustubha, Vyavaháramayúkha, we find a number of ślokas attributed to this Rishi. A considerable portion of these verses treats of the law of adoption, and this circumstance induced me, when my attention lately was directed to the Hindu law, to make a search for the Çaunaka-smṛiti. By the recovery of this work, I hoped to be enabled to decide a rather difficult question regarding the unconditional right of Hindu widows to adopt a son, which arises out of a reading, given by one of the modern law-books. Besides, as I believed with Professor Stenzler,† that the Çaunaka-smṛiti treated exclusively of adoption, I expected to gain

\* M. Müller, Hist. Sk. Lit. p. 233l.

† See Weber Ind. Stud. Vol. I. p.

fuller information regarding this difficult and interesting chapter of the Hindu law. My endeavours were successful, and I obtained two books, the one of which is known amongst our çāstris as the *Bṛihat*—or great—the other as the *Laghu*—or small, *Çaunaka-smṛiti*. The larger of these two works, which contains about 2,500 *çloka*s, is, however, in my MS. called the *Çaunakīyā-kārikā*, or “ memorial verses of *Çaunaka*.” The smaller, which consists of about 300 *çloka*s, is called *Yajñāngadharmāçāstram*, “ or the *Dharmaçāstra* connected with the sacrifice.”\*

The former of the two, the *Çaunakīyā-kārikā*, proves to be the work, which *Nanda Paṇḍita* the author of the *Dattakamīmāṃsā*, and other writers on adoption, quote, and it appears, that not the whole of it refers to adoption, but only a small part, which has been given in the *Mayūkha* and in the *Samskārakaustubha* in its entirety. Though my hope to obtain fresh information regarding the law of adoption has therefore proved to be vain, I nevertheless venture to publish this notice of the work, as it assists to decide the question alluded to before, and as from a historical point of view some interest attaches to every work that bears the name of *Çaunaka*. My copy is a transcript of a MS. written in the end of the last century (*Çāka*, 1711, A. D. 1790), and, by no means free from faults. But it will enable me to give an idea of the nature of the work.

The MS. opens with three verses which cannot belong to *Çaunaka*, but seems to have been added by some later hand.

They run as follows :—

Jayanti jagadātmānas tamah samxaya bhāsharāh  
 Rāmānuja padāvāpta bhūshanāh purushottamāh  
 Çrutismṛiti-jalápūrnāṃ çāstra-kallola-samkulam  
 Vishṇubhakti-mahā-potam vandeḥam çaunakārnavam  
 Tatsatram çaunako drishṭvā svayam harsha samanvitah  
 Vyāpāthayatsvāham çishyam tam namāmyāçvalāyanam.

1. “ Those best of men conquer, who are the souls of the world, the suns for the destruction of darkness, who are adorned (by the faith taught) by the feet of *Rāmānuja*.

2. I worship *Çaunaka*, who is comparable to an ocean, whose

\* In my copy the beginning is wanting. The book treats of sacrificial rites and seems to be of no importance for the Hindu law.

waters are the Çṛuti (Vedas) and Smṛitis, whose waves are the Institutes of science, and which is traversed by the great ship of the faith in Viṣṇu.

3. I bow to Āçvalāyana, his pupil, whom Çaunaka himself taught joyfully, after having seen that great sacrifice (in the Nimisha forest.)”

After this exordium, which evidently has been composed by a follower of Rāmānuja, begins the work itself. It consists of :—

1. Paribhāshās.
2. Sthālīpākavidhi.
3. Mútrapurīshotsargavidhi.
4. Sandhyopásanávidhi.
5. Kámyajapavidhi.
6. Dhanárjanavidhi.
7. Snánavidhi.
8. Brahmayaajnavidhi.
9. Devapújávidhi.
10. Vaiçvadevavidhi.
11. Kautukabandhanavidhi.
12. Ankurárpanavidhi.
13. Ṛituçántividhi.
14. Garbhálambhanavidhi.
15. Pumsavanánaavalobhane.
16. Símantonnayanavidhi.
17. Yátakarmavidhi.
18. Námakaraṇavidhi.
19. Nishkramaṇavidhi.
20. Annaprāçanavidhi.
21. Caulakarmavidhi.
22. Upanayanavidhi.
23. Bhikshávidhi.
24. Anupravacaníyavidhi.
25. Medhájananavidhi.
26. Upákarmavidhi.
27. Utsarjanavidhi.
28. Mahávratavidhi.
29. Upanishadvratavidhi.

30. Godánavidhi.
31. Samávartanavidhi.
32. Kanyábhyantaravidhi.
33. Viváhalakṣhaṇavidhi.
34. Vadhúgrihagamavidhi.
35. Madhuparkavidhi.
36. Kanyádánavidhi.
37. Viváhavidhi.
38. Grihapraveçaniyavidhi.
39. Stambhabalividhi.
40. Abdapratishṭhávidhi.
41. Udyánapratishṭhávidhi.
42. Açvatthasthápanavidhi.
43. Grámapratishṭhávidhi.
44. Atipatrahomavidhi.
45. Punahsamdhánavidhi.
46. Nástikyádivisriṣṭágniḥ punah samdhânam.
47. Dvibharyágnisamsaryavidhi.
48. Arkaviváha.
49. Putrakámesṭi.
50. Putraparigrahavidhi.
51. Samáropaṇavidhi.
52. Párvaṇasthálípáka.
53. Prati                      sthálípákavidhi.
54. Çravaṇákarmavidhi.
55. Sarpabaliḥ.
56. Açvayujíkarmavidhi.
57. Ágráyaṇavidhi.
58. Abhishekavidhi.
59. Grahaṇábhisekavidhi.
60. Samkrántábhisekavidhi.
61. Rájábhisekavidhi.
62. Paṭṭábhisekavidhi.
63. Apamṛityuhomah.
64. Ayushyahomavidhi.
65. Bṛihaspatiçánti.
66. Adityaçánti.

67. Adbhutaçánti.
68. Svapnotpátavidhi.
69. Vidyudagnividhi.
70. Valmikaçánti.
71. Gojaçánti.
72. Gojavagaçánti.
73. Açvataréçánti.
74. Yaxmaçánti.
75. Saxvarogaçánti.
76. Kṛityáçánti.
77. Çatruçánti.
78. Abhicáraçánti.
79. Jívaçráddha.
80. Garbhinyudakasthádi samskáravidhi.
81. Múlaçánti.
82. Açleshaçánti.
83. Vaidhṛiti vyatípáta samkrántividhi.
84. Grahaṇasútividhi.
85. Abdapúrtividhi.
86. Yatisamskáravidhi.
87. Áhitágnerdeçántaramaraṇavidhi.
88. Brahmaçárimaraṇavidhi.
89. Sarpasamskáravidhi.
90. Abhyúdayaçráddhavidhi.
91. Kámyádiçráddha.
92. Piṇḍapitṛiyajnavidhi.
93. Párvanaçráddhavidhi.
94. Saptamíçráddha.
95. Ashtamíçráddha.
96. Anvashtakíçráddha.
97. Naxatrahomaçánti.
98. Náráyaṇabali.

From this summary it will appear, that the work is more extensive than a Grihyasútra. It contains more matter than the latter class of works usually do, especially the çántis or “propitiatory rites” are peculiar to it. Besides, its descriptions of the various ceremonies are fuller and more detailed than those in the Sútras. They resemble



most those of the modern Prayogas or "Manuals." On the other hand the work is not like a Dharmasūtra or Dharmashāstra, as it gives less the duties of a Hindu than a description of the various rites to be performed by him.

The first question which now obtrudes itself, is, whether this curious work is really a composition of the ancient sage Çaunaka or a production of later times. The fact, that so very frequently a new topic is introduced with the words "I, Çaunaka, will declare" (Çaunakoham pravaxyāmi) and similar phrases, would seem to furnish proof that the Kārikā is the original work of Çaunaka.

Besides there is some circumstantial evidence which makes in favour of this opinion. Firstly, nearly all the Mantras quoted are taken from the Ṛig Veda and show that the author was a follower of this Veda. As it is well known that Çaunaka belonged to the Bahvṛicas, this fact is of some importance. Secondly, many passages of the Kārikā agree almost literally with the Sūtras of Āçvalāyana, and these two works agree very closely in regard to some ceremonies which are unknown to the other Vedic schools. As, according to tradition, Āçvalāyana was a pupil and follower of Çaunaka, these points also speak for the authenticity of the Kārikā.

The rules regarding the Garbhālabhāna and the Anavalabhāna, two ceremonies to which are to be performed soon after marriage, furnish an instance of the close resemblance of the two works. Āçvalāyana says Gṛihyasūtra I. 13.1. upanishad ; garbhalambhanam pumsavanam anavalabhanam ca. I. 13.2 : yad? nādhīyāt.

1. In the Upanishad are (prescribed) the Garbhalambhāna, Pumsavana, and Anavalabhāna.

2. If he does not study it ..... (he shall perform the following rite).

Çaunaka gives the following rules on this subject :—

Garbhalambhāh pumsavanam garbhāyānavalobhanam. Iti karmatravyamidam yajnopanishadēritam.

Tāmadhītavatah karma trayam tathaiva sugrahaḥ.

Anadhīta vā tas tvesha pra yogotra nibadhyate.

"The Garbhalambhā, the Pumsavana and the Garbhānavalobhāna, these three ceremonies are enjoined in the Yajnopanishad. These three ceremonies, which are easily understood, (ought to be performed)

by him who has studied that (Upanishad). But for him who has not studied it, the following rite is ordained." The similarity of these passages has so much more weight, as *Āçvalāyana* and *Çaunaka* are the only writers on *Grihya* ceremonies known, who mention the two ceremonies. Another case in which the *Káriká* and the *Grihyaçútra* fully agree is the order of the forms of marriage. In *Āçvalāyana*'s enumeration the *Paigáca* form stands last but one, and the *Ráxasa* form last. The *Káriká* gives the same order, whilst *Manu*, *Yájñavalkya* and *Vishṇu* make the *Paigáca* form follow the *Ráxasa*. It would be easy to multiply these instances of resemblance between the two works.

But though the work announces itself as proceeding from *Çaunaka*, and though there is apparently some circumstantial evidence supporting this claim, there are also some points which make it highly improbable that *Çaunaka* is its immediate author.

Firstly, the *Káriká* advocates the *Vaishṇava* faith. *Vishṇu* is repeatedly called the *devadeva*, the "god of gods," the worship of the *Tulasí* plant is frequently enjoined, and peculiar rites and symbols of the *Vishṇu*ites, such as the *náraca*, the *padmáxa* and *tulasímani*, the *cakramudrá* are occasionally mentioned. Though the worship of *Vishṇu* may possibly be very old in India, nevertheless it is hardly probable that the adoration of the *Tulasí* should be derived from the times of *Çaunaka*, who certainly lived before *Pánini*. *Anandagiri*, the disciple of *Çankarácárya*, is, as far as I know, the first writer who testifies, that in his times divine honours were paid to this plant.

This circumstance prevents me from considering *Çaunaka* as the immediate author of the *Káriká*. But as the work so ostentatiously uses the name of *Çaunaka*, and certainly teaches on the whole the ritual of the *Rig Veda*, and moreover shows in many points a close affinity with the *Āçvalāyanasaútras*, I am inclined to consider it as a redaction of the old *Çaunaka-smṛití* by a *Vaishṇava*. Some other points confirm this opinion.

Firstly, the title *Çaunakíyákáriká* itself suggests the idea of a verified redaction of an older work. The word *Káriká* is used to designate "memorial verses," such as the verses attached to *Pánini*'s grammar, and a class of works on scientific subjects composed in the *Anushtubh* metre. Thus we have a *Sámkhyakáriká*, *Mandúkopenishat-*

káriká, an Ācvaláyana<sup>grihya</sup>-káriká, Çankháya<sup>na</sup>-káriká. But the Sámkhyá káriká is confessedly later than the Sámkhyasútras, the Ācvaláyana-káriká is said to be composed by Kumárilabhaṭṭa, the Mandúkopanishad-káriká of course claims not the authority of the Upanishad itself.

It is therefore to be expected that the Çaunakíyá-káriká likewise is merely based on a Çaunaka-smṛiti.

The second circumstance, which is in favour of our theory, is that sectarians in general, and the Vaishṇavas in particular, have also in other cases both worked up older Smṛitis into new forms and interpolated them with additions of their own, and even composed some new ones under old names. I hope soon to give this question a fuller consideration, and content myself with mentioning here two cases. The one is that of the Vishṇu-smṛiti, which seems to be a Vaishṇava redaction of an older Súra, and the second that of the Brihaddhárítas-mṛiti, which is a modern work, teaching exclusively the Vaishṇava rites and doctrines.

It is of course impossible to say which parts of the Káriká are new, and which old. But, in favour of the older work, we can at least make a tolerably safe conjecture. I have remarked already that the Káriká does not resemble exactly either a Dharmasúra or a Grihyasúra. We find also a number of quotations from Çaunaka in the Mítákshará, Madanapárijáta, and Paráçara-mádhava, which evidently are taken from his Grihyasúra, but to which nothing in the Káriká responds. The fact is, that our Káriká most probably is a versification of a number of Paríçishtas belonging to the Çaunaka-grihyasúra. Several collections of Paríçishtas treating of Grihya ceremonies are in existence. One of them belongs to the Sáma Veda, and includes a mahánámnívratavidhi, a upanishadavratavidhi, a snánavidhi etc. Another such collection is tacked to the Baudháya<sup>na</sup> grihyasútras. It closely resembles that contained in the Çaunakíyá káriká. It begins, just as this, with Paribhášhás and contains more than a hundred divisions, which treat of nearly the same subjects, as Çaunaka's work, *i. e.* Samskára, Çánti and Çráddha. The language is mostly prose, only a few divisions are in verse. Each part begins with the words "atháto ..... vidhimvyákhyásyámah. "Now then we shall explain the rule for ....., " and generally ends

with “Atháha bhagaván baudháyanaḥ, thus says the venerable Baudháyana,” or a similar phrase. Amongst other interesting matters we find in it also the ‘rule of adoption’ quoted by Nandapaṇḍita in the Dattakamímámsá. I shall give it below, and it will serve to show how great the resemblance is between the two works. What purpose these Pariṣiṣṭas served, and whether they belong to the same authors as the corresponding Sūtras, are questions which are open to discussion. But the circumstance that Baudháyana’s ‘vidhis,’ as well as those belonging to the Sāma veda, are chiefly in prose, strengthens the supposition that the Çaunakiyá káriká has been remodelled and verified by some later writer. It is not at all improbable that this Vaishṇava author, and the follower of Rámánuja who composed the introductory verses, are the same person, and that the work in its present shape is not older than the thirteenth or fourteenth century; for the Mítákshará and its immediate predecessor never quote this work. In the chapter on adoption it is not mentioned at all, and Viçveçvara as well as Vijnáneçvara elsewhere quote a Çaunaka in prose. On the other hand Devandabhaṭṭa and Nandapaṇḍita, who are both Southerners and countrymen of Rámánuja, quote it.

I now proceed to give the text and translation of the Putrasamgrahavidhi, according to my MS. compared with the Dattakamímámsá of Nandapaṇḍita, the Dattakacandriká, the Vyavahára-mayúkha and the Samskárakaustubha. There appear to have existed two redactions, one followed by the Dattakamímámsá and the Dattakacandriká, the other by the MS. and the other books mentioned. I cannot believe that this circumstance is accidental, especially as it repeats itself in the use of the Baudháyana-pariṣiṣṭa, where the Samskárakaustubha and my MS. are likewise opposed to the Dattakamímámsá and Dattakacandriká. Devandabhaṭṭa and Nandapaṇḍita are both Southerners, and the authors of the Mayúkha and of the Samskárakaustubha, as well as the possessors of the originals from which my copies are taken, are all Maháráshṭradeshashtha Brahmans, it would therefore seem that both in the case of the Çaunaka-káriká and that of the Baudháyana, there existed, two redactions, a Maháráshṭra and a Southern.

I give here the text of the former, as it is the shorter one, and the additions of the latter in the notes.

1. Çaunakoham pravaxyámi putrasamgrahamuttamam.  
Aputro mṛitaputro vá\* putrārtham samuposhya ca.†
2. Vāsasí kuṇḍale dattvá ushṇíṣham‡ cángulíyakam.  
Ācáryam dharmasamyuktam vaishṇavam vedapáragam.
3. Barhiḥ kuçamayam caiva pālācam cedhmameva ca.  
Etányáhrityaṣ bandhúmṇca jñátínáhúya yatnatah.||
4. Bandhúnannena sampūjya¶ bráhmaṇámṇca viçeshatah.  
Agnýádhánádi\* yat tantram kṛitvájyotpavanántakam.†
5. Dátuh samaxam gatvá tu putram dehíti yácayet.‡  
Dáne samartho dátásmai yeṣ yajne neti pancabhiḥ.
6. Devasya tveti mantreṇa hastábhyám parigríhya ca.  
Angádangetyricam japtvá cághráya|| cícumúrdhani.
7. Vastrádibhiralamkṛitya putracháyávaham¶ sutam.  
Nṛityagítaícca vádyaiçca svastiçabdaícca samyutam.\*

\* Datt. mím. page 1, line 6, Calcutta édition, bandhyo mṛitaprajo vápíti páth-ántaram. But ibid. page 32, line 1, this reading is attributed to Vṛiddhagautama. The sense remains the same, only the use of the word bandhya is remarkable.

Sansk. kaust. fol. 47, page 1, line 3, Bombay lith. ed. 1 : bandhyá mṛitaputrá vápi ; *i. e.* "a woman who is barren or whose children have died." This reading, if correct, would authorise women to adopt without having obtained the permission of their husbands or relations. But it is wrong, because in v. 13 and 14, the adopting person is spoken of in the masculine, and because Vedic rite cannot be destined in the first instance for women. Perhaps the reading was intentionally altered from that given in the Datt. mím.

† S'aun. kár. svakulasya ca "and for the sake of his family," gives no good sense.

‡ S'aun. kar. "coshṇíṣham." It seems to be a correction in order to avoid the hiatus which, however, is of common occurrence in the Anushtubh of the Dharmasástras. S'ansk. kaust. "chattram, an umbrella," for dattvá. The whole then depends on áhritya.

Datt. mím and Datt. chand. add after this one half śloka : madhuparkēṇa sampūjya rájánam ca dviján çucín, *i. e.* "having honoured the king (or lord of the village) and purc<sup>h</sup>Brahmans with the Madhuparka," according to the Datt. chandr. p. 65, l. 7 Calcutta édition, the verse also occurs in the Vṛiddhagautamasmṛiti. If inserted here, it disturbs the construction.

§ Etánáhritya. Datt. mím., Datt. chand. and Vyav. May. The neuter is the form required by the grammar.

|| Sattamah, Vyav. May.

¶ Annena sambhajya ; Datt. mím, Datt. chand. Vyav. May.

\* Anvádhánádi yat ; Vyav. May.

Agnýádhánikam tatra Datt. mím. Datt. chand. Anvádhána means a kindling of the fire preceded by a statement of the objects of the ceremony (samkalpa).

† Otpavanádikam S'aun. kár., Vyav. May. Datt. mím.

‡ Vácayet ; S'aun. kár.

§ Dátásau ; S'aun. kár., dátásmi Vyav. May.

|| Aghráya ; Datt. mím. Datt. chand.

¶ Chatracháyágamam ; Sansk. Kaust., *i. e.* walking under the umbrella.

\* Samyutam ; Sansk. Kaust.



8. Grihamadhye\* tamádāya carum hutvá vídhánatah.  
Yastvá hridetyricácaiva tubhyam agra ṛicaikayá.†
9. Somo dadadityetábhih pratyricam pancabhistathá.  
Svishtakridádihomam ca kṛtvá‡ ṇesham samápayet.
10. Bráhmaṇánám sapinḍeshu kartavyah putrasamgrahah.  
Tadalábhesapinḍeshu§ anyatra tu na kárayet.
11. Xatriyánám svajātau vá gurugotre samepi vá.||  
Vaicyánám vaicyajáteshu¶ cúdránám cúdrajátishu.
12. Sarveshám caiva varṇánám játishveva na cányatah.  
Dauhitram bháGINEYAM vá cúdránám cápi dápayet.\*
13. Naikaputrena kartavyam putradánam kadácana.  
Bahuputrena kartavyam putradánam prayatnatah.
14. Daxinám gurave dadyál-yatháçakti† dvijottamah.  
Nripo‡ ráshtṛárdhamevápi§ vaicyo vittaçatatrayam.||
15. Cúdrah sarvasvamevápi açaktaçced yathábalam.  
Iti çaunakakárikáyám putraparigrahavidhih.

1. I, Çaunaka, will declare the most excellent (rule) for adopting a son. A person who has no son, or whose son has died, should fast (on the day preceding the ceremony) for the sake of a son.

2. (He then should) place (in readiness¶) two garments (upper

\* Adhyetamádhāya; Datt. mīm., Datt. chanda—grīhametyedhmanádāya, *i. e.* having returned home and placed fuel on the fire; S'aun. kár.

† Yatváhṛidetypicenaiva. Datt. mīm. yastváhṛitetypicácaiva. Datt. chand. yastváhṛidetidvábhyám tu. Samsh. Kaust.

‡ Hutvá; Vyav. May.—ṇesham ca kṛtvá homam samápayet. Samsk. Kaust.

§ Asapindo vá, Vyav. May. Datt. mīm.

¶ Gurugotrasamopi vá; Vyav. May. gurugotrasamepi vá. Samsk. Kaust.

¶ S'údrajátishu S'aun. káriká and Vyav. May. against the metre.

\* Caryadi; S'aun. kár. The reading in itself is senseless; but seems to point back to cápi dápayet. The reading given in the text is made up from this and the Samsk. Kaust. "S'údránámapi dápayet." The readings of the other works differ very much from ours:—

|                       |                           |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| Dauhitro bháGINEYACCA | { cúdrasyá,               |
| Pi ca díyate          | { cúdraistu,              |
| Kriyate sutah         | { Vyav. May.              |
|                       | { Datt. mīm. Datt. chand. |

After this verse, Datt. mīm. page 19, line 12, insert half a S'loka: bráhma-nádi traye násti bháGINE—yah sutah kvacit, *i. e.* amongst the three castes beginning with the Bráhmaṇ, a sister's son is nowhere adopted. The half verse is quite superfluous.

† Dattvá. S'an. kár., Vyav. May.

‡ Nripa; Datt. mīm.

§ Evátha; Datt. mīm. Datt. chand.

¶ Ratnaçatadvayam; Samsk. Kaust.

¶ Borradaile translates according to the prayoga given in the Mayúkha: having given two pieces of cloth.....to a priest..... But the verb dá does

and lower) a pair of earrings, a turban and a finger-ring, procure a virtuous priest of the Vaishṇava faith, who has studied the Vedas to their end,

3. A layer of Kuça grass\* (to place the Aṅyasthálí upon) and fuel of Pálāça wood, and pressingly invite his Bandhu (cognates) and his Sapinda relations (gentiles).

4. Having (next) honoured his relations by (placing) food (before them) and especially the Brahmans, he should perform the ceremonies beginning with the kindling of the sacred fire, and ending with the purification of the liquid butter.†

5. He (then) should go to the person who is going to give away (the boy) and order (the Acárya) to ask him, saying: "Give the child."

6. The person who gives (the child to be adopted, then says): I have authority to give (him the boy, and recites) the five (verses‡ beginning with :) "Who by the sacrifice."

7. (The adopter) should (then) receive the (boy) (drawing him into his legs) with his hands (reciting) the Mantra: "In the creation of Sávitri, &c." and mutter the verse: "From the several limbs, &c." and touch with his nose the child's head.§

8. He (then) should adorn the child which (now) resembles a son of the receiver's body, with the dresses and other (ornaments mentioned before).

9. Afterwards (he should) go to his (own) house accompanied by the (boy) with dancing, songs, and sounds of music and blessings,

not take the accusative of the thing given and of the person. The latter ought to stand in the dative, genitive, or locative. Besides, as I am informed, it is *not* the custom to give such presents to the Achárya at the beginning of the ceremony. The above translation is confirmed by the corresponding passage of Baudháyaṇa. I take the literal meaning of dattvá here to be "tyúyam kṛtvá."

\* Borradaile: "a bunch of sixty-four stems entirely of Kuça grass." I am informed, that so much Kuça grass is usually taken as can be held by joining the tip of the fore-finger to the tip of the thumb.

† A blade of Kuça grass (paritram) is placed lengthwise into the Aṅyasthálí, and moved first horizontally and then upwards in order to take away insects, &c., that may have fallen into the ghee. This operation is repeated three times. (Oral information.)

‡ Ríg. Veda. ix. 62, 1—5.

§ Aghrá is usually wrongly translated by 'kissing.' Regarding the correct meaning of the term and the origin of the custom, see my notice in Benfey's *Orient und Occident*.

and offer a burnt offering (of dressed rice) according to the rule, (reciting the verses, "I who within my heart, &c." and "To thee at first, &c.," and the five (verses), "Soma gave her, &c.," (presenting an oblation\*) with every verse. Having then performed the Srishtakṛid, and the other offerings, he should finish the remainder (of the ceremony,) *i. e.* *Ācīrvāda*, *dakṣiṇādāna*, &c.

10. Brahmans should adopt amongst their Sapiṇḍa relations, and if (a Sapiṇḍa) be not obtainable, amongst those (Brahmans) who are not Sapiṇḍas; but amongst others (persons of a different gotra) it should never be done.

11. Xatriyas (must adopt) (members of) their own family, or in a family, which has a spiritual teacher of the same (Brahminical) Gotra; Vaiçyas amongst Vaiçyas, and Çúdras amongst Çúdras.

12. And (persons) of all castes amongst their classes only, not otherwise. Amongst Çúdras he (the king) may (allow?) also a daughter's or a sister's son to be adopted.

13. No person, who has only one son, ought ever to give (him to be adopted); but a person possessing many sons ought anxiously to do so.

14. A Brahman ought to give a fee to the (officiating) priest according to his ability, a king even a half (of the income) of his kingdom, and a Vaiçya three hundred pieces (of money).

15. A Çúdra even all his property, or if he be poor, according to his ability.

Here ends in the *Çaunaka káriká* the rule for the adoption of a son.

In order to afford a comparison with *Çaunaka*'s text, and on account of the interest which attaches to all the old authorities, I append the text and translation of *Baudháyana*. The text is based on my MS. of *Baudháyana*'s work on *Grihya* ceremonies, where it forms the *Adhyáya* of the second *Praçna*, corresponding with the *Dattakamímámsá*, the *Dattakachandriká* and the *Samskárakaustubha*.

1. Putraparigrahaavidhim† vyákhyásyámah.

2. Çonitaçukrasambhavo mâtṛipitṛinimittakas tasya pradánaparityágavikrayeshu mâtápitarau prabhavatah.‡

\* Yastvá, R. V. verse 4, 10.—Tubhyámagra, R. V. x. 85, 38.—Somadadad, R. V. x. 85, 41—45.

† Putrapratigraho Samk. Kaust. f. 47, page 2, line 3, Bombay lith. ed.

‡ S'onte S. K.

3. Na tvekam putram dadyát pratigrihñíyádvá sa hi samtánáya púrveshám.

4. Na tu strí putram dadyát pratigrihñíyád ványatránujñánād bhartuh.

5. Pratigrihíshyannupakalpayate dve vásasí dve kuṇḍale angulíyakam cácáryam\* vedapáragam kuçamayam barhih paṇṇamayamidh-mamiti.

6. Atha bandhúnáhúya† madhye rájani cávedya parishadi vágára-madhye bráhmaṇánannena parivishya‡ punyáham svastyṛiddhimiti vácayitvá.

7. Atha deva yajanollekhana§ prabhṛityá prañítábhyaḥ dátuh samaxam gatvá putram me dehíti bhixeta.||

8. Dadámí¶ títara áha.\*

9. Tam parigrihñáti† dharmáya tvá grihñámi samtatyai tvá grih-námíti.

10. Athainam vastrakuṇḍalábhyaṁ angulíyakena cálamkritya paridhánaprabhṛityágnimukhát‡ kṛtvá pakvānnaṁ§ júhoti.

11. Yastvá hṛidá kíṛṇá manyamána iti puronuvákyámanúcyá riviktá|| yasmai tvam sukṛite játaveda iti yápyayá júhoti.

12. Atha vyáhṛitír hutvá svishṭakṛitprabhṛiti siddhamádhenu-vara pradánát.

13. Daxiṇám dadátyete eva vásasí ete eva kuṇḍale etatcángu-líyakam.

14. Yadyevam kṛitvaurasaḥ¶ putra utpadyate turíyabhāgesha\* bhavatí ti smáha baudháyanah.

1. "We shall declare the rule for the adoption of a son,

\* Angutíyaka ácharyam. Datt. mím.

† Niveçanamadhye Datt. mím.—niveçanasya madhye Datt. cand.

‡ Bráhmaṇavágálambenopaviçya, sitting down according to the order of the Brahmans.

§ Devayajamánollekha. S. K.

|| Bhíxet. Datt. mím. and Datt. cand.

¶ Dadáníto.

\* Aha left out by S. K.

† Atoham parigrihñámi S. K. tam parigrihñíteti Datt. mím. Datt. cand. reads parigrihñámi in every case for grihñámi.

‡ Agnimukhán S. K. agnimukham Datt. mím.—Datt. cand.

§ Paktvá Datt. mím.—tyaktvá Datt. cand.

|| Anúdyā, Datt. mím. and Datt. cand.

¶ Evamtvaurasaḥ. Datt. mím. Datt. cand.

\* Turíyabhāge prabhavatíti. S. K. turíyabhāgesam bhavatíti. Datt. mím. and Datt. cand.

2. “(A son) is produced from the seed of the male and the blood of the female. His mother and his father are the cause of his existence. His mother and his father have (therefore) the right to give him away, to abandon or to sell him.

3. “But nobody should give or receive an only son. For he is (wanted) to continue the line of his ancestors.

4. “But a woman should neither give nor receive a son without the permission of her husband.

5. “(A man) who is about to adopt a son, procures two garments, two earrings, and a finger-ring, a priest who has studied the Vedas to their end, a layer of Kuça grass, and fuel of Pálāça-wood. Thus (is the rule).

6. “Then, having invited his relations to his (dwelling) and informed the king (of his intention to adopt), and having, in the assembly or in his dwelling, served the (invited) Brahmins with food, he should cause them to pronounce the benedictions: “(May) the day (be) auspicious! Hail (to thee)! Prosperity (to thee).”\*

7. “Then having performed the ceremonies, beginning with drawing the lines on the altar, and ending with the placing of the water vessels, he should go to the giver (of the child) and ask him (saying): Give me (thy) son!

8. “The other answers: I give him.

9. “He receives him (the child with these words): I take thee for the fulfilment of (my) religious duties; I take thee to continue the line (of my ancestors).

10. “Then he adorns him with the (above mentioned) two garments, the two earrings and the finger-ring, and having performed the ceremonies beginning with the placing of the (pieces of wood called) paridhis, (fences around the altar) and ending with the Agnimukha,† he offers boiled rice into the fire.

11. “Having recited the Puronuvákya:‡ ‘Who thinking of thee

\* All the verbs down to ‘he should ask’ stand in the text, in the absolute. I make a division after *vácayitvá*, as the first part of the preparatory ceremonies before the Homa closes with the *punyáhavácanam*. The formula of this rite is the following: The performer says, Sirs, wish (me) an auspicious day! Brahman: Om, may the day be auspicious, etc.

† I am not certain about the meaning of this word. But it may possibly indicate the oblation to Agni, which are offered to the eyes of this god, *i. e.* in the north-eastern and south-eastern corners of the altar.

‡ Taitt. Veda. i. 4, 46. The *yastváyáya* is found in the same *kánda*.



with a discerning mind,' &c., he offers an oblation with the Yájya : 'To whom the performer of good deeds,' &c.

12. "Then having offered the (oblations accompanied by the recitations of the) Vyáhr̥itis, he finishes the ceremonies, beginning with the oblation to Agni sviṣṭakṛit, down to the presentation of a cow and presents (to the officiating priest).

13. "He presents (to him) as sacrificial fee, those two pieces of cloth, those two earrings, and that finger-ring (with which he had before adorned the child).

14. "If after the performance of these rites a (legitimate) son is born (to the adopter) (then the adoptive son) receives a fourth of (the son's) share. Thus says Baudháyana."

It now remains for me to return to the question, how far the recovery of the Çaunaka káriká affects the law of adoption. This chapter of the Hindu law is in a worse state than any other, chiefly because there is not, as in the case of Inheritance, Divisions, &c., for each school of lawyers one paramount authority, which lays down its fundamental rules and its principles. The Dattakamímámsá of Nanda Paṇḍita, it is true, enjoys a certain esteem all over India, but, in the Bombay Presidency at least, not to such an extent, that it would overrule the conflicting opinions of all other writers. On the contrary, besides this work, the Bombay Pandits always consult and frequently follow four other works, the Vyavahára-mayúkha, the Nirṇayasindhu, the Samskárakaustubha, and the Dharmasindhu.

On account of this state of things, the Hindu lawyer will be called upon to examine the principles on which the conflicting opinions rest much oftener in this part of the law, than anywhere else. It is therefore also most important to possess the ancient original works in their integrity from which the modern writers profess to draw their opinions, and to know their history and critical condition.

One of the points in the law of adoption, on which views directly opposed to each other are advocated by writers of eminence, is the question whether a Hindu widow has the power to make an adoption.

Nanda Paṇḍita distinctly denies her right to do so under any circumstances whatever. Nílakanṭha, the author of the Mayúkha, permit it, provided the widow has obtained the permission to do so from her husband before his death, or can procure the sanction of her rela-

tions and guardians after his death. The Nirṇayasindhu, the Sams-kārakaustubha, and the Dharmasindhu declare that a widow may adopt without the permission of her relations.

The advocates of the latter opinion give, as one of their principal arguments, the second half of the first verse of the Çaunakasmṛiti, where they read: 'Vandhyá mṛitu putrá vāpi.' 'A woman, who is childless or whose sons have died (may adopt).' If this reading were correct, a widow would certainly have the right to adopt, as she pleases. But I have already pointed out in the note appended to the text, that it is wrong, and perhaps a clumsy forgery of the advocates of the widows' rights.

This example will suffice to show, how the recovery of the original Smṛitis may be turned to some use for some practical purpose in the discussion of points of the Hindu law, important even if their importance for the reconstruction of its history be left out of sight.

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*Notes on Atranji Khera or Pi-lo-shan-na of General CUNNINGHAM, (vide Continuation of Report for 1862-63, No. VIII. page 15.)—By*  
C. HORNE, Esq., C. S.

[Received 5th January, 1866.]

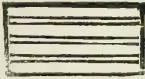
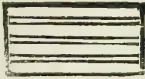
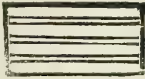
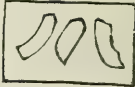
This morning Dr. Tyler kindly drove me, by a country road viâ Rah and Sirnow villages, some ten miles to the village of Achulpow, nearly north of Etah, crossing, when within a mile of the said village, a ravine styled the Kalee Nuddee. Just beyond this village, of which it forms a part, rises the huge Khera or Mound, which, I was informed, contains in its area 500\* statute beegahs of land. The height varies from 40 to 50 feet, and it forms a very imposing object, and is covered with scattered broken bricks and fragments of pottery of great thickness, being likewise garnished with a few bushes and two or three peepul trees.

The circuit, as by the measurements of the Moonshee deputed by General Cunningham, is as follows:—Length at base 3,250 feet with a breadth of 2,550 ft. The general form is rectangular, although it is

\* Equal to 198½ acres.

not quite regular; and there are two openings, evidently artificial, called "gates" by the natives. These are at their base about 75 feet in width, and they had buildings on either side. One of these is on the east side near to the north-east corner, and the other on the west side near to the south-west corner. There is also a modern cart-track running through the midst in a kind of hollow.

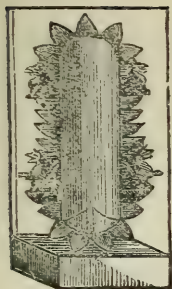
The surface of the Khera undulates much, making a series of miniature downs. This effect has been caused chiefly by the agency of water; but there were doubtless elevations and depressions in the original city, the site for which was finely chosen. Around the whole is cultivation, and at a little distance in the east flows the Kalee Nuddee river, so that the view from the top is very striking and beautiful; masses of mango trees in the distance fringed in front with many thousands of palm trees, with a carpet of green winter crop at their feet, stretching to the shining expanse of the bounded water of the Kalee Nuddee in the foreground, form a picture which led my companion to remark upon it, and would captivate the eye of the most apathetic of observers.

At the south-eastern corner, distant a few hundred yards, is an out-work—a mound on which had once stood extensive buildings, now being excavated to their very foundations for the bricks they contain. These bricks measure  $14'' \times 8\frac{3}{4}'' \times 2''$  only, are not very well burnt, and do not carry the appearance of great antiquity. None of them bore any inscription stamped on them; although some seemed to have been moulded thus:  as though they had formed part of some ornamental  moulding, and I was told of others bearing marks  like this;  evidently those of the finger on the moist clay—which I have often found in other places, and the meaning of which I do not know. On this mound, irregularly placed, are three lingams which appear very recent. They are of sandstone and may have been cut from columns. I measured one of them 1 foot 6 inches in height, and about 2 feet in diameter, whilst within a small recent enclosure were two more: one of which was placed in the middle in a pavement of stucco, without any *Yoni*; and the other leaning against the back wall—a slab in relief and perhaps 5 feet in height.









I give in the margin a rough sketch of the last mentioned, and may remark that none of them appeared to have been much worshipped—if at all.

Also leaning against the wall was the figure of a four armed figure of Durga, in relief on a slab, treading on a prostrate form. This was of no antiquity.

After ascending the mound at the south-east corner and proceeding perhaps two or three hundred yards, we came upon a small eminence, by no means the highest point of the Khera, where foundations have been excavated. These foundations appear to have been circular and to have had for diameter about 54 feet, an ample base for the support of a tower of 100 feet, as described by the Chinese travellers.

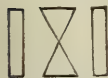
Proceeding still farther north and keeping at a distance of about 100 yards from the eastern face, we came to another mound in which the excavated trenches shew a building to have once stood. The thickness of the foundation walls would indicate a building of some elevation.

This eastern face runs nearly parallel to the Kalee Nuddee, and proceeding in the same direction, we came to the "gate" before alluded to.

On the other side of this, the mound is higher, and is now covered with scrub jungle of Korunda and Bair, inhabited only by black partridges, hares, plovers, and large grey owls.

This is used as grazing ground by the villagers; and it is here, in and after the rains, that the herd boys find the old silver Hindu coins, six of which were given to me by the Zemindar of Achulpoor, Kullian Sing Thakoor, a most obliging guide, whose son takes an intelligent interest in the Khera.

These coins were all of the same type, viz. the nail-headed character, the marks here indicated being often found on them.



On this part of the mound undoubtedly stood the principal buildings; although I could not trace even

a single foundation.

To the north was visible, at a short distance, another outwork which had originally borne a building, but the mound was much lower and smaller than that at the south-eastern corner. Continuing round the mound, I came at another place to foundations of no note, and saw to the west three smaller mounds, in which no traces of buildings, save broken bricks, probably thrown on them from the fields, remained.

I also came to the other gate, after crossing the cart-track shewn in the plan. The circuit, which I did not measure, might have been about two miles.

The fact that this mound has served as a huge brick kiln to the surrounding country, lying within a radius of eight miles, for the past 7 or 800 years, readily accounts for the absence of all other traces of buildings, and it was with the greatest difficulty I was able to find an entire brick to measure, and I much fear that no good would result from any excavation made in this spot. Block kunkur must have been used instead of stone, and all the remains of this have been utilized by succeeding generations for lime and road-making, so that not a trace now remains.

*Etah, December, 1865.*



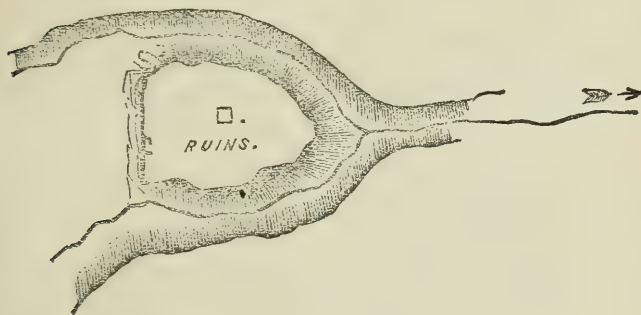
*Notes on some Buddhist Ruins at Doob Koond.—By Captain W. R. MELVILLE, in charge, Gwalior Survey.*

[Received 31st January, 1866.]

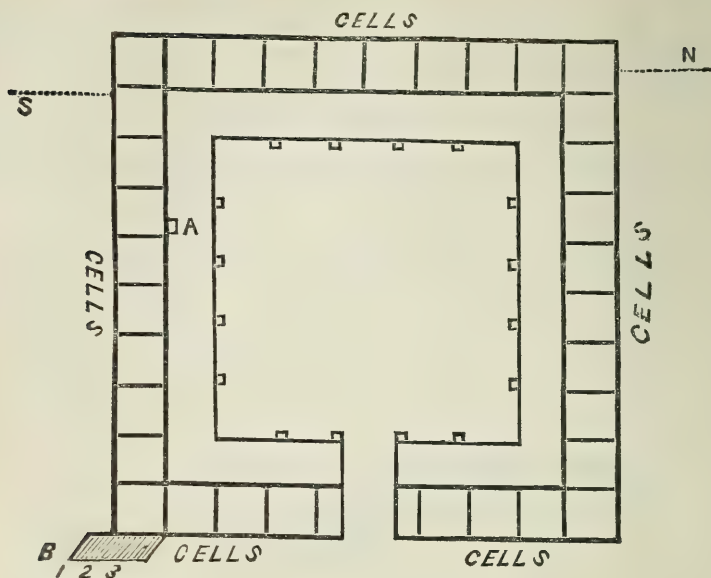
I discovered the other day some totally new Buddhist ruins and an inscription, two copies of which are sent in a tin case with this note.\* I have also taken five photographs of the sculpture in different parts of the temple, but I shall be unable to print off copies until my return to recess quarters in April. This temple is situated in the dense forest on the left bank of the Koonoo river, one of the southern tributaries of the Chumbul. I first passed through these jungles in the cold weather of 1863, and I always, from the first, had an idea that these

\* The inscription will be published hereafter. Ed.

jungles had formerly been much better inhabited than now, but though I have always been looking out for some remains of old buildings, these are the first of any importance I have come across. This temple is situated about three miles almost due north of the village of Buryon in the Keruhl Tehsil, at the place where the Purney river (which up to there runs along the surface of the ground) first begins to form what is called a Kho, or a narrow valley with perpendicular sides. The place is called Doob Koond. The origin of the name, according to the native tradition, is mentioned in the enclosed Memo. The temple is situated in the middle of a fortified enclosure situated on a peninsula, the neck of which is defended by a fortified



wall (as shewn above), and all around it there is a mass of ruined houses and the remains of several smaller temples, in which, however, I was unable to find any inscription. The centre temple, which seems to have been the most important, and in which the inscription was found, seems to have been a square about 100 feet each side, with an open court in the centre surrounded by cells, each of which seems to have been devoted to the worship of some particular divinity. There is only one entrance, on the eastern side, and that side has only seven cells, while the three others have 8 each, making a total of 31. There is a covered verandah running all round outside the cells. The following sketch will give a rough idea :



A. Inscription cells.

B. 3 large statues.

The carving that remains, especially inside the cells, though much injured, is most beautiful. Each of the cells seems to have had a sort of arched canopy carved with elephants, &c. and supported by two figures, one on each side. Below this canopy is a sort of pedestal, on which, I conclude, stood the image of the Deity to whom the cell was dedicated. The elephants are beautifully carved, and their attitudes very natural, and not at all stiff. Just on your left, as you enter, are three large statues of male figures, quite naked and standing. The largest is in the centre. They each have a sort of canopy over their heads, and on the glory round the head of the principal figure you can still see marks of paint. Many of the figures inside also seem to have been painted. The three large figures inside are buried in debris up to their waist. The temple is built of large blocks and slabs of sandstone, which are not, I think, cemented. The roof to each of the cells is formed in the following way: on the first four slabs placed square, smaller blocks are laid across the corners, and on the

top of these four smaller slabs forming a smaller square, which is covered with a single square slab. The inscription is at the southern side of the temple; it is an oblong slab, and the letters have been very carefully sculptured on it, and seem to have been filled with a sort of enamel. It has a projecting stone over it, intended, I suppose, to protect it from the weather; it is between two of the cells under the covered verandah.

On each side of the peninsula on which the temple is situated, there are two deep pools or koonds which never dry up, and which, I fancy, led to this place being selected for a village.

Outside the enclosure and a little higher up the river, on the river bank, there is another temple which looks modern, but which has a figure in it evidently taken from the old temple. Inside the enclosure there are the remains of several other temples, but I could find nothing in them but broken images. Being busily occupied with my survey duties, I had very little time to explore, but I dare say that careful investigation would bring something more to light. The only way I had of taking off the inscription was with blue chalk, but as this was not as distinct as I wished, Baboo Joala Pershad, one of my native surveyors, was kind enough to copy the inscription for me, and I enclose a memo. he made about the temple at my request. I was unable to photograph the inscription on account of the want of light and the smallness of my lens. I hope that the inscription may throw some light on the date of these interesting ruins.

It is a curious fact that these ruins were unknown to any of the natives, except the sheriahs or half savages that inhabit this jungle.

CAMP GWALIOR TERRITORY, *viâ* AGRA,

*January 25th, 1866.*

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*Memorandum about the Doob Koond Temple, by JOALA PERSHAD.*

The inscription, as far as I can read it, states that in the year 741 of the Christian era, this temple was situated in the village of Mahabux, and that it was dedicated to the gods—Nemji, Sri Budya, and Chinamusta.

In 688, Umr Sing and Beja Sing, gooroos, came by the order of Muharaja Chundruk in the reign of Behram Sing.

In the reign of Behram Sing, Pandoo and Gubraj, two brothers,



repaired the temple and instituted the worship of Chunder Perboo, and made two baolies, one on each side, the one on the north was called Umr Sing Baoli, and the one on the south Beija Sing Baoli.

The old sheriahs have a legend that Behram Sing and the two brothers came to see the temple when it was finished, and all the images burst out laughing. Berham Sing then ordered lime to be put on their faces.\*

All the legends about this place seem to show that formerly it was a very celebrated temple and a great place for pilgrimage. They state that (at a date unknown) many years ago a raja† from the west came with an army to this temple, carried off the gold and silver images, broke up the other sculptures, and threw a large portion of them into the koond, and ever since the place has been deserted and called *Doob Koond*.

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*Some objections to the Modern Style of official Hindustani.*—By F. S. GROWSE, M. A. Oxon. B. C. S.

[Received 23rd July, 1866.]

As the pages of the “Asiatic” have admitted an elaborate defence of the modern fashionable style of Urdu composition, I trust that a brief statement of some of the arguments on the opposite side of the question, will find equal toleration.

The Urdu champion has undoubtedly made the best of his case, but he appears to have misapprehended the object of the Hindi party, and therefore many of his arguments are directed against an imaginary opponent. With the possible exception of a few visionary enthusiasts, I am not aware that any one in the present day is prepared to advocate a return to Hindi pure and simple. Such a thing would be practically impossible, on account of the number of foreign words which have won for themselves a secure position in popular speech. I consider this to be really the valid reason, and attach no weight whatever to the alleged varieties of dialect; for I feel convinced that the language of the Prem Sagar, in which not the slightest taint of an alien element has been allowed, would be more

\* I fancy this refers to the paint on the images that still exists.

† Probably a Mussulman rival.

generally understood throughout the length and breadth of India, than any equally polished specimen of Urdu. This statement, indeed, may be called a mere *ipse dixit*, but its truth is susceptible of a very easy test. However, as I have already said, Hindi so absolutely pure and undefiled, finds few advocates; and there can be no doubt that the Baital Pachisi, where a judicious mixture of Persian terms has been admitted, would be much more easily and widely intelligible than the Prem Sagar.

The only foundation for the belief that Hindi is an arbitrary name for a group of vulgar dialects, which have little in common and could not be reduced to one standard, is the practice of the early Missionaries, each of whom set about compiling a dictionary for the district in which he happened to be placed. But if we compare these local glossaries together, we shall find that a very large proportion of the words occur equally in all. To test this statement, I take down a Panjabi dictionary which I have at hand, and open it at random: the first word at the top of the page is *palit*, filthy, which is Sanskrit, and the last word *par-náni*, a maternal great grandmother, which is good Hindi; of the other forty-six words in the same page there are only nine which are at all peculiar, though there are several divergencies from the recognized mode of orthography. And the varieties, so far as I can judge, appear to be of two kinds: 1st, the most common of all natural objects are known by several designations, of which one will be most popular in this district, another in that; while the other names will remain in the back ground, perfectly well understood, though less frequently on the tongue. As an example of what I mean: a *tree* in Bengal proper is generally called *gáchh*, in the N. W. Provinces *per*, and in the Hills *briksh*; but a native in any part of the Bengal presidency who did not know the meaning of *per* would be a phenomenon. 2nd, Agricultural implements, or rather the component parts of such implements, with the domestic articles of daily use, are known in different quarters of India by very different names. But for the most part these things, being suggested by the peculiar wants and habits of the district, have no foreign name whatever, and in superfine Urdu can only be expressed by a periphrasis. Local differences of these two kinds do not, in my opinion, at all impair the integrity of the language. But unfortunately a good Hindi dictionary

is up to the present day a complete desideratum; nothing of the kind has ever been attempted; and I should be delighted to see some Pandit come forward, with sufficient zeal, patriotism and learning, to undertake such a task; a dictionary, I mean, which would comprise all the words used by Tulsi Dás in the Rámáyana, by Chand the Bard of the last Hindu kings, by Bihári Dás the author of the Satsaiya, and the other classical Hindi poets. I am convinced that such a work would not only be of the greatest interest to a philologist, but would incontestably prove that Hindi is an independent language, elaborated by a series of able writers and guided by a definite standard, which from time to time has varied in degree, but never in character.

Having so far cleared the ground, I will proceed to defend the position taken up by those who protest against the continuance of the present *Kachahri boli*, and still more against its recognition as the literary language of the country. In the first place, it is a recent innovation, which had positively no existence whatever fifty or sixty years ago. Mr. Beames incidentally speaks of Urdu writers three or four centuries back, but I must confess that I have never heard of them. The Mahommedans subdued the country, but never succeeded in destroying the language of the conquered people, nor does it appear that they made the attempt. As late as Akbar's reign and for many years subsequently, the popular dialect of both classes was the same; and if a Musalmán took in hand to write on any subject of general interest, especially if his taste led him to adopt a poetic form, his composition was couched in Hindi. Several of the poems in the Sabhá Bilás may be mentioned as specimens, in which the only Persian word that occurs is the name of the writer. If a more ambitious historical narrative were attempted, he discarded the vernacular altogether, and wrote in classical Persian, precisely in the same way as European scholars, till a very recent date, wrote all their more important works in Latin. Arabic too, was continued as the language of the law-courts, as Norman-French in England, simply as a matter of convenience to conform to the phraseology of the original codes; and this eventually was modified into Persian with the retention of a large proportion of Arabic words and phrases. Of course, as time passed on, many foreign words were incorporated into the popular dialect; even in the Rámáyana of Tulsi Dás we find at least two, *jawáb* and *bakshish*, and,

as I cannot speak positively with regard to so voluminous a poem, there may probably be a few others. But it appears to have been considered bad taste rather than otherwise in a professedly vernacular composition, to introduce many words of Persian or Arabic origin. At the beginning of the present century the proportion of foreign and native words had come to be about equal, in works composed by Mahomedan writers in a popular style. A new principle then came into operation, which checked the natural progress of development, and threatens to rob India of all it has hitherto acquired in the way of literature. The change to which I allude was the abolition of Persian as the language of the law-courts. Till that time official and popular language had been content to remain apart; now they were to coalesce. We all know what has been the result of this well-intentioned order: the *amla* had written nothing but Persian all their lives, and in fact could not trust themselves to write anything else; they acquiesced in the Government demand so far as to introduce the Hindustani inflexions into their pleadings, but the phraseology was preserved intact. This is the fortuitous origin of that wonderful jargon, which is now not satisfied with ruling the law-courts, but requires to be acknowledged as the standard of good taste throughout the whole of Hindustan; which has retained the verbosity of Persian, while sacrificing the elegance and simplicity of its grammatical construction, and has introduced the complex inversions of Hindi syntax, while discarding the terseness and vigour of its terminology. By all means let the language of the country be Urdu, that is to say the Urdu of thirty or forty years ago, having for its basis Hindi with a free admixture of all foreign words, for that is the form into which it had spontaneously developed, and eclecticism may be tolerated or even admired, while syncretism in art must be synonymous with failure.

2. Not to dwell further on its artificial origin, this Urdu dialect can never advance to the dignity of an independent language; and yet certainly India is too considerable a country to acquiesce quietly in the position of being, for literary purposes, merely a province of Persia. The great ambition of every Munshi now-a-days is to eliminate from his composition every Hindi word, no matter how far-fetched its Persian substitute may be. With regard to other languages he is not so particular, and will introduce English phrases with great

gusto, often with a singularly ludicrous effect. He only studies to conceal his Indian origin; yet, do what he can, he cannot get rid of those troublesome inflectional terminations and auxiliary verbs, and, after all his misapplied labour, the pedantic sentences, which nothing can induce him to call anything but Persian, remain hopelessly and unalterably Hindustáni. He has probably succeeded in making it unintelligible Hindustáni, but still Hindustáni it is and must remain, and no native of Iran could pronounce it to be more than some very provincial type of true Persian. Such a position appears to me highly undignified; while, on the other hand, if the Hindi basis were frankly recognized and worked upon, the result would be a genuine national inheritance. I will here give a few of the most common Hindi words which are banished from the Kachahris, and place opposite to them their fashionable substitutes.

| <i>Hindi.</i>        | <i>Foreign.</i> |
|----------------------|-----------------|
| Betá or larká, ..... | Pisar or walad. |
| Báp, .....           | Wálid.          |
| Chándi, .....        | Nukṛá.          |
| Tel, .....           | Raughan.        |
| Ghi or ghrit, .....  | Raughan-e-zard. |
| Gehuñ, .....         | Gandum.         |
| Gáñw, .....          | Mauzá.          |
| Bṛihaspati, .....    | Juma-rát.       |
| Chori, .....         | Sirika.         |
| Byáh, .....          | Izdiwáj.        |
| Bakri, .....         | Gospand.        |
| Len-den, .....       | Dád o sitad.    |
| Sunár, ..            | Zargar.         |
| Kúá, ...             | Cháh.           |
| Nidán, .....         | Akhir-i-kár.    |
| Kachha, .....        | Khám.           |
| Alag, .....          | 'Alahida.       |

The last word *alag* is of good Sanskrit descent, but I am sure nine-tenths of the Munshis look upon it as merely a vulgar corruption of '*aláhida*', in the same way as *nagich* is of *nazdik*. So far as the above list goes, and it might be indefinitely extended, all the words in the Hindi column appear to me, some from one reason, some from another,



to be decidedly preferable to their foreign substitutes. The only reason for displacing them is the insane desire of inventing a language for India with every Indian element eliminated. This principle is carried to such an extent, that if a foreign substitute cannot readily be found, the native word is dressed up in foreign fashion ; thus for *chachera*, a perfectly regular derivative, we are presented with the mongrel malformation, *chachá-zád*. And even one step beyond this : a dead set is made against the unfortunate letter *j*, which, as the Hindi representative of *z*, is considered decidedly vulgar, and occasionally banished even from Persian words, where till the present day no *z* had ever been known to intrude. Thus we have *fauzdári* for *faujdári*. When this is the case, it is no wonder that the *z* should be exclusively adopted in those instances of not very unfrequent occurrence, where there is some authority for its alternative use. Thus we have *jánu*, perfectly good Sanskrit, and *zánu*, equally good Persian, for a knee ; or to take a word of every day occurrence, *zát* is no doubt unimpeachable Persian, but *játi* is the original Sanskrit, and therefore the proper form for retention in the language of India. Yet I feel sure that an ordinary munshi would shudder to say *ját* ; though it stands to reason that, as caste prevails solely amongst Hindus, the popular word to denote it must be of home origin. *Zát* again is a word which stands by itself, without association or connection ; while *ját* at once refers us for its explanation to the cognate forms, *jan*, *janm*, *janná*, &c.

3. The adoption of this Persian dialect as the language of the country involves the necessary abandonment of the Nágari character. With reference to its original purpose the Nágari alphabet is the most scientific that human ingenuity has ever elaborated, but it is utterly inadequate for the representation either of Arabic or Persian. On the other hand the Persian character, as ordinarily written, is almost equally destructive of Hindi phraseology ; and it is interesting to watch the gradual inroads which it is making on vernacular speech. The court munshis, who, as a rule, have never read a page of any Hindi book, pronounce every word according to its Persian orthography, which in many cases is a very imperfect representative of the original Hindi form ; and as they are considered the depositaries of learning, their example is imitated, the mistake is perpetuated, and

gradually penetrates through every class of society. For example, all Hindi words ending in an unaccented vowel which would be clearly marked in Nágari, lose their termination in Persian writing, where all the vowels, final or medial, are more or less obscured. Thus, *pati*, so frequent in proper names, as Nírpati, Dhanpati, Brihashpati, is abbreviated into *pat*. Again, the Sanskrit *v* or *w* is generally corrupted by the defect of the Persian alphabet into *o* ; thus we have *deo*, *Baldeo*, *deota* for *deva*, *Baldeva*, *devatá*. Hence too arises the uncouth word *Dooar* rendered familiar by the disturbances in Bhután, which, if correctly spelt, is only the common Hindi *dwár*. As for the short vowel *w*, it admits an alternative error, being either dropped altogether, or written with the long *wao*. The Sanskrit compound consonants again cannot be clearly indicated, and in consequence we get the corruption *kariya* for *kriyá* in the common phrase for funeral rites, *kriyá karm*. It is highly desirable that some scheme should be started which would enable the two systems of writing to exercise a mutual check upon each other ; the Nágari completing the deficiencies of the Persian, and the Persian acting as a short-hand auxiliary of the Nágari. And there would be no practical difficulty in such an arrangement, if only it were once clearly recognized that the vernacular is a composite language, in its essential structure Hindi, but in its component elements Hindi and Persian in equal proportion. The division of the vernacular into Hindi and Urdu was a most unfortunate invention of the munshis of the College of Fort William at the beginning of the present century, and has never been generally recognized by the natives. I do not think that any one, who had not been specially brought under English training, would dream of calling his native tongue Urdu ; and, as I have before stated, Hindus and Musalmans alike, till very recent times, used one dialect for popular composition, though the Hindu, from early association and perhaps also from the nature of his subject, which would often be mythological, would naturally, though not inevitably nor uniformly, use more Sanskrit words, and the Musalmán, from the nature of his religion, more Persian words. It is now high time that these fanciful distinctions should be again merged into one, and the language of the country, according to universal analogy, be known by the name of Hindustáni. I cannot see any good to be gained by the retention of

the word Urdu, which certainly does not err on the side of self-laudation, being literally bazar *lingo*, and therefore, on its own shewing, unworthy to be brought into competition with Nágari, the refined and urbane.

If the language were once settled upon a composite basis, it could be expressed equally well by Persian or Nágari; and here I would make a suggestion, which I scarcely hope to see ever carried out, though I am convinced that it is perfectly practicable. I would reserve the Persian character for epistolary purposes, and records of transient interest; while I would have all permanent records and all Government printing in Nágari. It is notorious that any proper name, to which the clue has been lost, can never be deciphered with absolute certainty from a Persian document; and therefore such a style of writing is most inappropriate for the preservation of a record of rights; at the same time it is preeminently a running hand, and its great praise is its flowing elegance which it is impossible to imitate in print. On the other hand, Nágari, though slowly written, is clear and precise; and I believe all who have had any practical experience on the point will admit, that it is better adapted even than the Roman character for printing purposes, because the type is more durable. It may be urged against this suggestion that it would involve the necessity of all officials being able to read and write both Persian and Nágari, whereas now as a rule they are familiar only with the former. This is true, but then the language employed would be their own mother tongue, for the acquisition of which no special training would be required.

4. And this brings me naturally to my fourth point; which is, that the present *kachhari boli* is inconvenient, because it is foreign to all and unintelligible to many. And on a point of this kind, we, being ourselves foreigners, must not trust to preconceived notions: the deliberate judgment of one educated native is sufficient to upset all our theories. Some few days ago I came across a brief History of India, compiled by Bábu Siva Prasád and published by order of the local Government, called the *Timira-násak* (which by the way I may remark is, so far as I am competent to judge, a model of what the Indian vernacular should be, being elegant without pedantry and homely without vulgarity); in his preface the Author distinctly

deplores the fact that the language of the courts is not the language of the country. Similar statements may be found passim in the newspapers written and edited by English speaking natives. And it is by no means uncommon to find really well educated Hindus, who will readily admit that they most imperfectly understand and would be quite unable to write the dialect of the *kachahri* munshis. And as a further proof, the official translations of laws and circulars in this pseudo-vernacular are absolutely unintelligible, till they have been interpreted by some one who can compare them with the original English. No doubt there are several current law phrases, for which, as Mr. Beames says, it would now be difficult to find the Hindi equivalents, and I have no objection to their retention; I think, however, their number is not so great as is generally supposed, and should not be unnecessarily increased. For instance, *markúm-i-bála* or *mazkúr i-sadr* is the accepted phrase for *aforsaid*, but it would be incorrect to allege that there was no Hindi equivalent for it, since *upar ukta*, though now somewhat unfamiliar, is equally elegant and correct. I think too that Mr. Beames is scarcely fair in some points of his comparison between Hindi and Persian; *málum* and *matlab* are generally represented by some tense of the verbs *jánná* and *cháhná*; *tajwiz* in colloquial language is accurately expressed by *soch* and *bichár*, either separately or together, and judicially by *nirnay*; *zarúr* is supplied by *cháhiye*; *mawáshi* by *pohe*. And I am certainly surprised to see him rank *jangal* amongst the foreign words, whereas it is in fact Sanskrit. Nor should I translate *shakhs* by *log*, but by *jan*, which, so far as my experience goes, is universally used by natives when talking amongst themselves, and is perfectly good Sanskrit, though the munshis, for some reason or other, have taken a dislike to it, probably because it begins with the letter *j*.

5. The Urdu of the period is not only unintelligible, but it perpetuates and confirms ignorance. It is so completely an alien form of speech, that in the case of those whom Government compels to employ it, the whole time available for education is spent in acquiring it; and the consequence is, that, as a rule, these Urdu speakers are, in matters of general information, the most ignorant class in the community. In every other case the acquisition of a new language opens a new door of knowledge; but this artificial dialect has neither history

nor literature, unless we choose to class under the latter head the laws and circulars of the Government, which, it must be confessed, are rather dull reading for the masses.

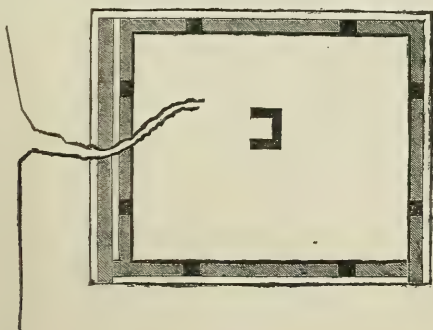
In every way then I conclude that the encouragement of the style in which our munshis delight, is most strongly to be deprecated. It is a style of artificial and unnatural origin; it is incapable of development into an independent national language; it robs the Hindus of their most glorious literary inheritance; it is practically inconvenient, being unfamiliar even to the educated classes, unless they have been specially trained in it; and it perpetuates ignorance by blotting out the records of earlier civilization, and, having no literature of its own, offers none in its place. The law has at all times and in all countries been somewhat pedantic in its utterances, and if it is inevitable, let it remain so; but surely it is an unheard-of thing that legal phraseology should be constituted the type of polite literature.

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Description of the Chandrarekhágurh near Sashtanee, Pergunnah Nyegur, Zillah Midnapore.—By W. J. HERSCHEL, Esq., B. C. S.

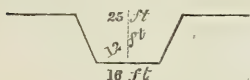
[Received 2nd April, 1866.]

This very remarkable fort lies in the least known part of the district of Midnapore, in the south-west corner of it. I came upon it accidentally while returning from a tour into Morbhunj.



It lies near the boundary of the district in the midst of what, twenty years ago, was uninterrupted jungle, but what is now fast breaking up into cultivation. It is a nearly square patch of thick tangled

jungle lying pretty nearly north and south. Its longest line is east and west. It measures 1,050 yards in this direction, and from north to south 780 yards; so that the circumference is just two miles. It is built with unusual precision and completeness, differing in this from all the other forts I have seen in this district. A perfectly straight ditch on each side with a high bund inside; it has been almost filled up on the northern side and somewhat less so on the western, by the drainage of the country, which at this spot flows S. S. E. The western end of the ditch on the south side has been affected in the same way, the drainage turning southwards round the corner; the northern end of the eastern ditch has not suffered so, because the drainage sets *away from* that corner, and the ditch is not continuous round the corner. At this place, therefore, the eastern ditch is seen in perfection, and a very



surprising work it is. It is cut through solid rock, except the upper two or three feet, and the sides are carefully sloped with the chisel. The rock is the com-

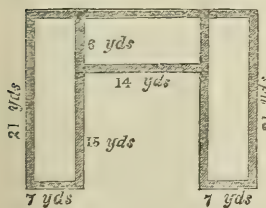
mon Midnapore laterite, not a hard stone to cut, and not a very good one to wear. It is liable to frequent clefts, and is seldom continuous in very large blocks. Consequently the sides of the ditch have fallen in a good deal, but there is ample to shew that when first finished, this ditch was a thoroughly workmanlike production. The soil was removed at the lips of it, and the rock carried up by two or three layers of stone. It is carried all down the eastern face, and turns the corner with almost modern precision, and continues along the southern face till it is silted up at the western end. From the character of the whole fort I am satisfied that, if cleared, the ditch would be found equally perfect all round; on those two faces it is scarcely filled up at all, though overhung with jungle and difficult to get along in consequence.

The bund on this eastern face is about 12 feet high and 50 broad. Within it is another equally fine and well-preserved ditch cut in the same way through the solid rock. This ditch does not go round the other three sides, nor can I say certainly that it goes all up the eastern side, but the natives say it does, and I went along some 100 yards of it, till it got so bearish-looking that the villagers would not go further with me.

About 15 yards within the edge of the second ditch rises the wall of the Fort which, as far as I could follow it, is continuous the whole way round. It was built of excellently chiselled stones of ordinary size, about four or five feet thick, and about 15 feet high, though there is not that height standing anywhere that I saw; 12 or 13 feet I measured. The care bestowed on this wall is most unusual. There is no attempt at extravagant massiness, but what was done was done thoroughly well. At different places are projecting bastions, simple square rooms of 20 feet each way, standing out from the line. They are quite square and clean at the angles. The villagers said there were two such on each side. I think there was also one at each corner.

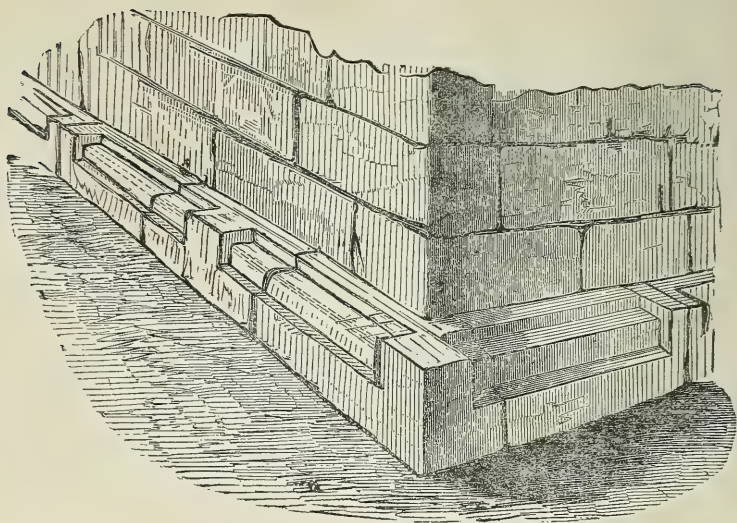
The wall is very much in ruins now, but there is plenty left to shew what a handsome thing it must have been. On the south side is a huge tower in ruins, but that is the work of the Trigonometrical Survey, I believe. It is quite out of character with the rest, certainly, by its very size.

The interior of the Fort presents nothing whatever to suggest habitation, except the one extraordinary building in the centre. In its simplicity, neatness and thoroughness, it harmonizes exactly with the exterior defences. I give a plan of it in the margin. It has but three



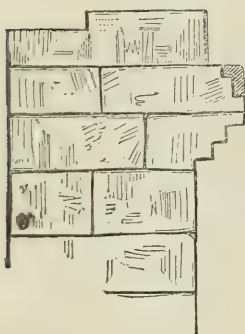
rooms, of the size shewn in the plan. The walls are of the same nicely cut laterite, about 3 feet thick, and 11 feet high from the true ground level to the top of the corncing. It is not in very good preservation above the 8th foot from the ground, but so far almost perfect. The corncing is

of the same simple character as the whole Fort, (of the shape shewn in the woodcut on page 184) and runs all round the whole of the three rooms. The upper half of the cornice is like the lower, reversed, but at regular intervals there are little square bosses as at the basement of the wall, which is ornamented in the same simple style, thus:—



These simple rectangular mouldings were the only ornaments or carvings I could detect on a very careful search throughout the whole fort. There is not a curved line in any stone in the whole work. The wall certainly ran up to the height which I have shewn in the sketch of the cornice. I cannot find any stone higher than that, and from the fact that three of the few stones left of that tier have a ledge in

them (as shewn in the margin) on the inner side of the wall, I suppose that the timbers of the roof rested on this tier. The curious part about the building is, that there is not, and never was, any door whatever. I examined the walls everywhere, and by the lines of the stones it is quite clear that it was deliberately intended that there should be no entrance into these rooms, whatever there might have been to the roof. The want of debris shews that there was no upper story. Nor is there any commu-



nication whatever between the three rooms. An entrance has been forced of course, since the place became a ruin, but the position of the stones at the place is still at this present moment such as to shew

PLATE XXI.





HINDU TEMPLE OF SAHASRA LINGA AT CHUNDRA REKHA GURH.

that it *is* a forced entrance. There is not a vestige of anything that could have been a stone staircase. The interior of these three rooms is filled in a good deal with rubbish, shewing, I fancy, that there was a roof on them once.

The villagers all say that it has been a puzzle to them for generations why the Rajah Chandraketu, to whom the building of the fort was assigned, should have built his house so. They said, truly enough, that any force that could take the fort, would soon find its way into the house.

Rajah Chandraketu lived, say the rustics, in the Satya Yug, and was a favoured contemporary of Ráma, who on his march to Lanká stopped here, and found the Rájá engaged in pious worship, morning, noon and night. Before he touched food, he used to perform poojah to one thousand Sivas (Lings). Ráma halted at a place called Tapoban, now of considerable local celebrity as a spot for worship, and in a dream authorized Chandraketu to build a *mandir* to Siva and place in it a Ling having a thousand Murts—that by worshipping it he might, as a special privilege, obtain all the merit of one thousand acts of worship. I went to visit the Sahasra Ling, or rather I had gone there before, and had noticed that it was encircled with ten rows of marks like a continuous *m mmmm*. The old Burwei of the village told me, and I found, there were exactly 1,000 of these strokes, and on enquiry I was told the story of Chandraketu. The temple is old certainly, but my belief is that neither the fort nor the temple are more than two or three hundred years old. Perhaps the accompanying sketch of the *mandir* (vide plate XXI.) may determine the age of that building at least. It is split by roots and is in a very tottering state altogether. Several of the stones have come down from their places.

Of the family or history of Chandraketu not another word could be learnt. Nothing but the fort and the house have survived him, and judging by them, he must have been a man of simple habits and of rare singleness of purpose and tenacity. Why he should have defended the *eastern* side of his fort at such double expense I do not know. But it was a costly undertaking.

There is no mention of the fort in Bayley's MS. Notes of the Zillah.

*Notes on a Tour in Maunbhoom in 1864-65.—By Lieutenant-Colonel
E. T. DALTON, Commissioner of Chota-Nagpore.*

[Received 16th October, 1865.]

In the district of Maunbhoom, we find two distinct types of architectural remains. Those that appear most ancient, and are said by the people to be so, are ascribed, traditionally and no doubt correctly, to a race called variously Serap, Serab, Serak, Srawaka, who were probably the earliest Aryan colonists in this part of India; as even the Bhumij, who of the existing population claim to be the oldest settlers and whose ancestors had not the skill to construct such monuments, declare that the first settlers of their race found these ruins in the forests that they cleared. We have the same tradition of early settlements of the Srawuks in the eastern parts of Singhbhoom, which were broken up by the warlike Hos or Lurka Coles. The Srawuks appear to have colonized along the banks of rivers, and we find their temple ruins on the banks of the Damodur, the Cossai and other streams. The Cossai is rich in architectural remains. Within a few miles of the station of Poorulia and near that river, are the ruins of an old settlement called Palma. This I have not seen, but Lieutenant R. C. Money has favoured me with a brief account of it. The principal temple is on a mound covered with stone and brick, the debris of buildings, through which many fine old peepul trees have pierced, and under their spreading branches the gods of the fallen temple have found shelter. In different places are sculptures of perfectly nude male figures, standing on pedestals and under canopies, with Egyptian looking head dresses, the arms hanging down straight by the sides, the hands turned in and touching the body near the knees. One of these images is larger than life. It is broken away from the slab on which it was cut, and the head, separated from the body, lies near. At the feet of each idol are two smaller figures with chowries in their hands, looking up at the principal figure, and on the pediment of each is an animal, differing. I have now seen several of these figures, and there can, I think, be no doubt that they are images of the “Tirthan-caras” of the Jains, who are always thus figured naked or ‘sky-clad,’ each with its representative animal or symbol. Lieutenant Money

also observed a stone pillar set up perpendicularly, standing 12 feet high by $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet square, with corners chamfered, making it an octagon; and near this four more of the Tirthancaras are found. All about this temple mound are other mounds of cut stone and bricks, shewing that there must have been here, at a remote period, a numerous people far more advanced in civilization than the Bhoomi and Baori tribes who succeeded them. At the village of Churra near Poorulia, there are two very old stone temples called 'Deols' or 'Dewalas.' The only tradition regarding them is, that they and some large tanks in the vicinity were constructed by the Serawaks here called Seraks. They are built with roughly cut stone, without cement, on the *stone carpentry* principle. There were originally seven of these Deols. Five have fallen, and the fragments have been used in building houses in the village. The most perfect of the two that remain, is a tower terminating in a dome of horizontal courses of stone about 30 feet high, with a circular finial like a huge cog-wheel, and the remains of flag-roofed colonnades on both sides. The slabs forming the roof are great blocks of granite from 5 to 9 feet in length, 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ in breadth and 1 foot thick. There is no carving about these temples, and no object of worship now in the shrines, but on some of the stones that are scattered about, tracings of the nude "Tirthancaras" are visible. There is another of these temples at Telkoopi on the Damodur; and there is there an image still worshipped by the people in the neighbourhood, which they call *Birrup*. This image I have not seen, but it is probably intended for the 24th "Tirthancara," 'Vira' or Mahabira, the last Jina.

Some four miles south of the town of Jaipore on the right bank of the Cossai river, near the village of Boram, are three very imposing looking brick temples rising amidst heaps of debris of other ruins, roughly cut and uncut stones and bricks. Besides the mounds, on which these temples stand, there are other mounds all composed of similar debris and traces of enclosures, shewing this to have been at one time a very important place. The most southern of the three temples is the largest. The tower rises from a base of 26 feet square. The chamber occupies only 9 feet square of this, and after about 9 feet of upright wall is pyramidal in form, the bricks in rows of first three, then two, and near the top one, gradually approaching, till the four sides meet. The

remainder of the tower is solid brick work throughout. Its height is about 60 feet, but the upper portion of it has fallen, and it is impossible to say how it was finished off. The bricks of which these temples are composed, some of them eighteen inches by twelve, and only two inches thick, look as if they were machine-made, so sharp are the edges, so smooth their surface, and so perfect their shape. They are very carefully laid throughout the mass of masonry, so closely fitting that it would be difficult to insert at the junction the blade of a knife. The entrance to all the temples faces the rising sun. The objects of worship, whatever they were, have disappeared from the fanes, but in the southern temple there is a stone gutter through the wall, terminating in a well-carved gargoyle for carrying off the water used in the ablution of the idol. The bricks used for ornamental friezes and cornices appear to have been carefully moulded for the purpose before they were burned; and the design, executed entirely of bricks thus moulded and put together, is, though very elaborate, wonderfully perfect and elegant as a whole; but in some places stucco has been added, and further ornamentation or more delicate tracery attempted in the stucco on the brick foundation, and this tracery, where it remains, is in wonderful preservation. The entrance to the temple is wide and lofty and arched like the interior, that is by the projection, till they meet, of bricks horizontally laid. Door, there appears on sign of. The fane must have been open to the world. The only animals I could discern in the ornamentation were geese, introduced in the scrolls: the goose is a Buddhist emblem.

The other temples are of similar design, but smaller size. In front of them I observed several pillars of stone, but I found no architraves, and the pillars are hardly long enough to have been the support of a covered porch in front of the fane. These three temples are all of the same type, and are no doubt correctly ascribed by the people to the "Srawaks" or Jains. I found indeed no Jain images on the spot, but about a mile to the south, the remains of a Hindoo temple in a grove was pointed out to me, and all the images from all the temples in the neighbourhood have been there collected. The grove temple was dedicated to Siva, but amongst the images were several nude figures like those already described, that were in all probability the 'Jinas' of the brick temple.

Near the brick temples I found, amongst a heap of ruins, a square stone crypt in which was a four-armed female figure finely carved in the style of the sculptures of Dulmi, to be presently described. This was worshipped by the women of the place under the name of 'Soshti.' In the grove there was a similar figure, and the other images of Hindoo gods found there, appeared to be of the same period. Another mound was pointed out to me about half a mile from the grove as a collection of ruins, but I did not go to it.

The temples of the Maunbhoom District described in a letter from Lieutenant Beavan, published in the Proceedings of the Asiatic Society for April last, are no doubt of the same Jain type. The colossal sculpture, described as worshipped by the villagers under the name of Bhiram, may be another image of the 24th Jina, "Vira;" at all events it is a "Tirthancara" not a Hindoo image.

From the notice of "Vira" in the IXth Vol. of the Asiatic Researches, article Jains, by Prof. Wilson, it appears that he flourished 500 or 600 years before Christ, and after he had adopted an ascetic life he is represented as traversing the country occupied by the "*Vajra Bhoomi*" and the *Suddhi Bhoomi*, who abused and beat him and shot at him with arrows and baited him with dogs; but he tranquilly went on his course, paying no heed to these annoyances. Now Maunbhoom is to this day the land of the *Bhoomi*, or Bhumij. They are a branch of the Moondah race, and were long the terror of the adjoining districts of Bengal. These were no doubt the "Vajra" the terrible "Bhoomi." The other portion of the population, who are not "Bhoomi," are called "Sudh" throughout Chota-Nagpore. It is not improbable that the shrines I have been describing, mark the course taken in his travels by the great saint "Vira," and were erected to his honour by the people whom his preaching had converted; but all these temples are in sight of *Mount Samaye* or Samat, that is the sacred hill from which 250 years before the days of Vira, the Jina Parswa or Parswanath is said to have obtained '*nirbána*' or ultimate repose from the cares of a separate existence; and it may be that colonies of Jains had settled on the rivers in the jungle mehals before the appearance of Vira, and that Vira preached to men who had already been inaugurated into the mysteries of the Jain faith. The tradition of the Bhoomij and their kindred tribe, the Ho or Lurka Coles of Singbhoom, that the Srawakas

occupied this country first, shews that the Jains are a very ancient sect. Their antiquity has been doubted in consequence of the modern appearance of their known temples, but those I have been describing as existing in Maunbhoom, are doubtless of great antiquity. In the regions that I have shewn were at one time a great seat of this sect, some colonies still remain. In 1863 I halted at a place called Jumpra, 12 miles from Poorulea, and was visited by some villagers who struck me as having a very respectable and intelligent appearance. They called themselves Sarawaks, and they prided themselves on the fact that under our Government not one of their community had ever been convicted of a heinous crime. They are represented as having great scruples against taking life. They must not eat till they have seen the sun, and they venerate Parswanath. There are several colonies of the same people in Chota-Nagpore proper, but they have not been there for more than seven generations, and they all say they originally came from Pachete. Contrasted with the Moondah or Cole race, they are distinguished by their fairer complexions, regular features and a peculiarity of wearing the hair in a knob rather high on the back of the head. They are enterprising, and generally manage to combine trade with agricultural pursuits, doing business both as farmers and money-lenders. The train of "Mahabira" is represented as consisting of "Sadhs," Sramanas and others, and lastly of '*Srawaks*,' the laity and the most numerous class of all. The whole of the Jains are divided into "Yatis" and "Srawakas," clerical and lay, and as their *gochas* or family divisions include *Agurwals*, and *Oswals*, and Parswanath or Mount Samneya is revered by a numerous body of the wealthiest people in India. From Central India, thousands of these classes annually visit the hill, and their reverence for it is so great, that a pilgrim to the shrines must attend to no call of nature whilst his feet are on the mountain.

I must now turn to the antiquities of the Brahminical type which tradition ascribes, why I know not, to Vikramadit. The zemindar of one of the Maunbhoom jungle mehals, commonly called the Rajah of Patkome, claims to be a lineal descendant of some Vikramadit, and every third rajah of the line takes that name. The name of the present rajah is Sutrogonadyt, his father was Vikramadit, and his grandson will bear the same name, the son's name is Udayadit. It

is on the estate of the gentleman claiming such ancient lineage and noble ancestry that we find, on the banks of the Sobanrika river, near its confluence with the Kurkari, the remains of the ancient city of Dulmi. I was in hopes I should here find family annals that would have given some account of the ruins, but the rajah has none, and appears to have no reverence for the place. This makes one sceptical of his royal descent, and the probability is, that he is nothing more than a Hinduized Bhoomij. He calls himself a Kshetriya—an honour to which all the Jungle Mehal chiefs aspire, declaring either that they conquered the country from the 'Dasyas,' or were elected by them, or were miraculously produced amongst them. In regard to subjugation, the difficulty is, that their ancestor must, in each case, have done it single handed, as the chief is the only representative of the force used ; but this difficulty the rajah of Patkoine gets over by declaring that his race were specially created to rule, the Dasyas to be ruled.

The antiquities of Dulmi comprise the remains of an old fort, several large tanks, and the ruins of numerous temples dedicated to the worship of Siva and Parbuttee, to the adoration of the Linga and other objects of Brahminical idolatry. Crossing to the left bank of the river, the first object that strikes you, is a colossal figure of Gunesh amidst a confused heap of cut stones. The poor fellow has tumbled off his pedestal and lost his legs in the fall. If he had had fair proportions, he would have stood 12 feet high, as his body measures six feet ; but with such ridiculously short and thick legs as were assigned to him, he only stood 9 feet. His place was that of Janitor, and the heaps of stones near him, the remains of the river gate of the old city ; and you can trace from it the remains of masonry walls that must have embraced a considerable area. A little hill overlooking the river near this place is covered with cut and carved stones, and occupying the place of honour in the foundation of what appears to have been the principal temples just here, is a Linga, 18 inches in diameter, protruding a foot and a half from the 'Argah' in which it is embedded. The Argah is circular and three feet in diameter. In a brick temple, near this shrine of Siva, there is a stand for an idol, but the idol, which it is said was an image of Vishnoo, has been removed. There were formerly, I am told, a great variety of sculptures at this place, but they are now scattered all over the country. The brick

temple is probably of more modern date than the stone buildings, as it is partly arched on the radiating principle. Near the river are two mounds formed of the debris of two or more fine temples. The altar piece of one was a ten-armed figure of Doorgah slaying the monster Mahisasoor. There are two groups of this subject, one greatly mutilated, the other in good preservation, the arms and weapons all perfect and sharp cut. There are here two elaborately carved door pieces of the entrance to the shrine. The ornamentation, cut in a very hard stone, is as sharp and clear as if it had but recently been turned out of the sculptor's hands. It is like the wooden carving of a picture frame, so minute and neat are the borders and scrolls. Near the other temple I found a large altar group representing, I believe, Kamadeva and his wife. They are represented seated lovingly side by side, and are in a good state of preservation.

Amongst the detached blocks were two figures having in alto-relievo the "Machowa" and "Cuchowa" Avatars of Vishnoo. The whole series of incarnations doubtless formed the chief external ornamentation of one of the temples. On a former occasion of visiting these ruins, I noticed here an image of Vishnoo *in propria persona*, with well-formed features, a highly decorated conical cap, jewelled, extensive ear-ornaments and a mannikin in his left hand; this image I did not observe on the last occasion. Not far from the temples is a stone image of a life-sized bull, Siva's Bull, which appears to have wandered from the shrine into the fields to graze. We next came to an extensive tank surrounded by a moat and ditch, but between the moat and the tank, there is a considerable space all round which was probably the site of houses, making this an entrenched *tank square*. In the centre of the tank there is a singular structure of stone, two small columns supporting a triple umbrella, from which the tank is called the "*Chatta pooker*." This indicates that the tank was dedicated to Indra, the king of heaven, as the trident on a post in most tanks shows that the blessing of Siva has been invoked on the work.

In the village of Dulmi we have a collection of sculptures that have been removed from the ruins. There is a group of Vishnoo and Lakshmi, a single figure of Vishnoo, a smaller bull, and various other images. An uncle of the Rajah, a venerable looking old man, lives at Dulmi, but, strange to say, he could give me no in-

formation about the antiquities of the place. The people, though to this day worshipping Kalee and offering sacrifices to a clay image of her in a shed, utterly disregard the ancient shrines, and care not for the desecration or deportation of the idol. It is the same with similar remains of Brahminical worship all over the country. We see that it was established in places that are now the haunts of wild beasts or the abode of a race that know nothing of such worship, and we see by the destruction of the temples and mutilation of the images that equal zeal was displayed in uprooting, as in establishing, it. The destructive agency is generally supposed to have been put in action by the Mahomedan power, but I do not understand, if this were so, how it is that some tradition regarding the destruction is not retained. We may associate some of these temples with the hermits, rishis or sages of the ancient days of Aryan progress;—attempts made to establish religious colonies amongst the yet unsubdued aborigines. It would appear that even in the days of the Ramayun the aborigines of this part of the country were called Kols. In the Ramayun they are alluded to as fierce savages in a conversation between Seeta and her mother-in-law, wherein the latter enumerates the various difficulties Seeta would have to encounter if she accompanied Ram in his progress south.* ‘The Ramayun,’ says Lassen, ‘contains the narrative of the first attempts of the Aryans to extend themselves to the south by conquest, but it presupposes the peaceable extension of the Brahminical missions in the same direction as having taken place still earlier. Ram, when he arrives at the south of the Vindya range, finds there the sage Agastya by whom the southern regions had been rendered safe and accessible. The Rakshasas, who are represented as disturbing the sacrifices and devouring the priests, signify here, as often elsewhere, merely the savage tribes which placed themselves in hostile opposition to the Brahminical institutions.’† The Ramayun depicts the Dasyas as infesting the hermitages or settlements of the Aryans, as obstructing their sacred rites, as enemies of the Brahmins, &c. It is true we do not hear that in these early days the worship of Siva had been established, but the Hindoos of the Pooranic times were not less zealous in proselytizing, and may have followed the same system of pushing forward

* From Muir’s Sanskrit Texts, Part II. page 425.

† From the same, page 435.

religious settlements amongst the unsubdued Dasyas. This would account for the Brahminical ruins, mostly dedicated to the worship of Siva, scattered about the wild regions of this Province, some in picturesque secluded spots that a hermit would delight in, others in connection with fortified cities, all now deserted. We may conceive that these colonies, gradually assuming a more aggressive policy, were, after severe struggles, finally extirpated by the progenitors of the Kols, Bhoomi and Moondah of the present day; that the aborigines thus maintained their independence and their autonomy, but that from a feeling of lingering admiration for the superior intelligence, higher civilization and God-like beauty of the unsuccessful invaders, they retained some amongst them as their guides and instructors, and it may be, in some instances, from the remnant thus retained, elected their chief. We might thus account for the Aryan features and Brahminical predilections of some of the chiefs whom we find ruling an alien people without any evidence that they had by conquest attained that position.

The District of Maunbhoom is entirely composed of the estates formerly known as Jungle Mehals. The great proportion of the agricultural population are of the Bhoomij tribe who, as they speak the same language, have the same ceremonies, feasts and customs as the Moondahs of Chota-Nagpore and also intermarry with them, are, without doubt, of the same origin. Though in many places partially Hindooized, they retain the great festivals of their race, when both sexes join in the feast and the dance. The chiefs, who, as I have stated, all aspire to be Kshetriyas, have each his tradition regarding his accession to power. These are generally fables devised by the Brahmins, and they may thank me for having given them a method of claiming an Aryan descent without having recourse to them.

The Rajah of Pachete is lord of half the district, and several petty rajahs with whom separate settlements were made, formerly acknowledged him as Suzerain. These petty rajahs and others, called Jagheerdars, claim to be the descendants of the chiefs of the confederacy who made the first Rajah of Pachete. The fable framed for this family is that a noble lady of the Kshetriya race, on her way from Daranugger to Juggernath, was delivered of a male child under a hill near Jhaldah, which, it appears, she incontinently abandoned and proceeded on her way. The child was found by the people protected by,

and deriving nourishment from, a cow. It was taken care of and eventually made Rajah of Sikurbhoom or Pachete, and the present Rajah is, I think, the 52nd in descent from this foundling.

A rock near the town of Pachete is pointed as the identical cow that nourished the Prince, and whenever a Rajah of Pachete dies, it drops a stone which rolls down the hill. A regular establishment is maintained for the worship of this cow.

Note on a Copper plate Inscription from Sambhalpur.—

By Bābu RĀJENDRĀLĀLA MITRA.

[Received 7th December, 1864.]

The subjoined is the translation of a copper plate inscription lately presented to the Society by Lieut. G. Bowie of the Police Corps. It records the gift of a village named Chullandāraka in the district of Tundaraka to certain learned Brāhman of the Kausika gotra. The name of the donor was Śrī Mahāsudevarāja. Who he was is not mentioned, nor is any regal title assigned to him, but the epithets used, show that he was a king or chief of some consequence. The patent alludes to a place named Sarabhapura, which the donor had conquered. It was probably the ancient name of Sambhalpur. Originally the document was inscribed on three tablets of copper, of which the last is not now forthcoming. Of the remaining plates, each of which measures $6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$ inches, the first is inscribed on one, and the second on both sides. The characters used are of the Narbadda type of the 7 century, very similar to that of the Seoni plates noticed by Prinsep (ante Vol. V. p. 726) but a few of the letters are peculiar, the most aberrant being the *kh*, *ñ*, *n*, *t*, *bh* and *l*. The vowel mark for *o* in *mo* is curiously given with an *e* on top and a *u* at foot. The loss of the date, which probably had been given in the third plate, and the absence of the donor's genealogy, deprives the record of all historical interest.

Translation of a Tāmra Śāsana from Sambhalpur.

Greeting! Śrī Mahāsudevarāja, whose two feet are bathed by the ocean of light shed from the topmost jewels on the crowns of valiant

chiefs coming from Sarabhapura,—who has caused the parted hair of the wives of his enemies to be dishevelled,—who is the bestower of wealth, land and kine,—who is a staunch follower of Vishṇu (Bhāga-vata),—and who devoutly reflects on the feet of his parents,—to the householders of Chullandāraka which is situated in (the district of) Tundaraka, thus addresseth, “Be it known unto ye, that this village, which is to secure celestial pleasures for me, has been, for the period of the duration of that earth, whose impenetrable darkness is dispelled by the light of the sun, the moon and the stars, along with all its mines and resources, unencumbered by lawsuits and aboriginal claims,* and free of all taxation, for the promotion of the virtue of my parents and myself, as well as of the estate and of the royal race, with our consent, by water and this copper-plate patent, dedicated to Trisaha Sravidyā Bhāshkara Swāmī, Prabhākara Swāmī, Barbbari Swāmī, Bodha Swāmī, Datta Swāmī, Vishṇu Swāmī, Phalgu Swāmī, Swāmikīrti Swāmī, and Saṅkara Swāmī, all of the Kausika gotra. Knowing this, may you remain obedient to their orders, and, rendering them a due share of the produce, live in happiness and prosperity.” For future kings is this advice given. Those who know ancient religion best, declare that the maintenance of gifts (made by others) is more virtuous than beneficence. Hence the inclination of future generations can alone protect this land presented to Brāhmaṇs of pure lineage and high Vedic knowledge. Therefore this gift should be preserved by you. These verses of Vyāsa are here appropriate; “gold was the first born of Agni, Vaishṇavas the son of Surya”—

First plate.

- (१) स्वस्तिशरभपुरादिक्रमोपनतसामन्तमुकुटचूडामणिप्रभाप्र-
- (२) सेकाम्बुधैतपादयुगलो रिपुविलासिनीसीमन्तोद्धरणहेतुर्वसु
- (३) वसुधागोप्रदः†परमभागवतो मातापितृपादानुध्यातश्श्रीमहासुदे
- (४) वराजः तुण्डरकभुक्तीयचुल्लण्डरके प्रतिवासिकुटुम्बिनस्स
- (५) माज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु वो यद्यायं ग्रामः त्रिदशपतिसदनसुख
- (६) प्रतिष्ठाकरो यावद्रविशशिताराकिरणप्रतिहतघोरान्यकारं ज

* The original is doubtful. The word used is, *avālabhaṭaprávedya*;—a “not” *vāda* “lawsuit” *bhāṭa* “barbarian” or “aborigines” and *právedya* “claims.”

† The *Upadhāniya* is in the original, put on the top of the following letter.

Second plate, first side.

- (१) गदवतिष्ठते तावदुपभोग्यस्सनिधिसोपनिधिरवादभटप्रद्यवो
- (२) सर्व्वकरविसर्ज्जितः राज्यमहावीरायकुलैः मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चपु
- (३) ण्याभिवृद्धये उदकपूर्व्वं*कोशिकसगोत्रचिसहस्रविद्यभास्करस्वामि
- (४) प्रभाकरस्वामिबर्ब्बरिस्वामिबोदस्वामिदत्तस्वामिविष्णुस्वामि
- (५) फल्गुस्वामिस्वामिकीर्त्तिस्वामिशङ्करस्वामिनां तांशासनेवातिष्ठ
- (६) ह्यो भूत्वास्माभिरनुमोदितः ते यूयमेवमुपलभ्यैषामाज्ञा श्रव

Second plate, second side.

- (१) णविधेया भूत्वा यथोचितभोगभागमुपनयन्तः सुखं प्रतिवत्स्यथ
- (२) भविष्यतश्च भूमिपाननुदर्शयति दानाद्विशिष्टमनुपालनजं पु
- (३) राणे धर्म्मं सुनिश्चितधियः प्रवदन्ति धर्म्मं तस्मै द्विजाय सुवि
- (४) शुद्धकुलश्रुताय दत्तां भुवं भवभुवो मतिरेव गोप्तुः तद्भवद्भि
- (५) रण्येषा दत्तिरनुपालयितव्या व्यासगीतांश्चात्र श्लोकानुदाहर-
- (६) न्ति अग्रेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूद्वैष्णवं सूर्य्यसुता

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Kavi Harichand Kunje of Bombay has lately brought out an edition of the *Saṅkshepa Saṅkarajaya* of Mādhava Āchārya with a commentary by Dhanapati Sūrī, entitled "The Dīpḍima." The text is in verse and contains, in 16 cantos, a poetical account of the life of Saṅkara Āchārya. The first canto gives an introduction; the 2nd, an account of the birth of Saṅkara; the 3rd, a conversation of the gods with Śiva in which the latter promises to appear in flesh as Saṅkara; the 4th, a description of the boyhood of Saṅkara; the 5th, his assumption of asceticism or Saṅnyāsa; the 6th, the extent of his learning; the 7th, an account of the Vedānta Darsana; the 8th and the 9th, the polemics of Saṅkara with Maṇḍana Miśra and his wife Sarasvatī; the 10th narrates a story about the life of Saṅkara entering the dead body of a king in order to enjoy the society of his wife; the 11th contains the substance of his disputations with Ugra Bhairava; the 12th, an account of his taking Hastāmalaka and others as his disciples; the 13th, his teaching of the Ve-

* Probably a misincision for को.

† ताच्च recte.

danta system of philosophy; the 14th, his conversation with Padmapáda, on pilgrimage; the 15th, his disputations with all the great scholars of India; and the 16th, his last illness, his travels in Kashmir, Badarikásrama, Kedára and elsewhere, his disputations and teachings there, and his final departure from the earth. Although it does not give so good an account of the different sects prevalent in India during the time of Sañkara and of their dogmas, as the prose work of Anantánandagiri now being printed in the new series of the Bibliotheca Indica, it was largely used by the late Professor Wilson in compiling his "Religious Sects of the Hindus." The work is tolerably well printed, but, like most works issued from the native press, it is not edited.

Parasuráma Purka of the same city has published a short treatise by Ananda Swámí, entitled *S'áiva Sudhákara*. It is a manual on the worship of S'íva. A similar manual on the worship of Vishnu and named *Náráyana Sára Sangraha*, has been published by one Shatari Dása, a Gour Brahman of Bombay. Both are lithographed in the *puthi* form and comprise 50 and 32 folia respectively.

Professor Weber of Berlin has sent to press an essay on the *Bhagavati Sutra* of the Jains, in the introduction to which he has given an elaborate dissertation on the Mágadhi of that curious work.

The following is an extract from a letter, dated 13th September, 1865, from Professor Holmboe of Christiania, containing notices of two interesting papers published by him in the *Saerskilt Aftrykt af Vid. Selskab Forhandlinger* for 1864.

"On yellow and red earth in ancient barrows. J'y ai démontré, que dans des tertres sépulcrales de Scandinavie on a trouvé quelquefois des quantités de terre jaune ou rouge, partie dans des vases, partie hors d'eux. J'y ai comparé la trouvaille de minium (sindur) dans quelques topes de l' Afghánistán; et hasardé la conjecture, qu' on a voulu honorer les défunts par l'insertion de la couleur, jaune ou rouge—les couleurs solennelles des religieux Bouddhistes; comme aussi le samghati de Bouddha selon la légende était rouge.

2. Sur une suite d'anciens poids trouvés dans un tombeau on voit, que dans une partie de Norvège, comme en Suède on subdivisait l'Ortug en huit parties (Peningar), justement comme en Inde on subdivisait le Kurrho ou Tola (égal á l' Ortug de Scandinavie) en huit parties."

JOURNAL OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY.

PART I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. IV.—1866.

Notes on the History and Topography of the Ancient Cities of Delhi.

By C. J. CAMPBELL, Esq., C. E.

Received 11th August, 1866.

Save a brief notice in Fergusson's Hand-Book of Architecture, the only reliable information that we possess regarding the ancient cities of Delhi, is to be found in the valuable contributions of Colonel Lewis, Mr. Cope, and General Cunningham to the Journal of the Asiatic Society.

My object in writing down the following notes has been, to supplement their descriptions by such additional information as I have been able to collect during a residence of more than six years in Delhi, in which I have been favoured with more than ordinary opportunities for studying the subject. I shall commence with the Masjid Kutb-ul-Islam which, from its age and from the circumstances connected with its construction, is by far the most interesting building in Delhi. In describing it, General Cunningham has fallen into a slight error; he attributes the whole of the additions, save only the Alái Durwáza, to Shamsh-u-din Altamsh; whereas we know from history, that that monarch only constructed a small portion of them, the grand extension towards the east having been erected by Ala-u-din in the beginning of the 14th century.

The portions built by these kings, as also the original work of Kutb-ud-din Eibeg, can still be distinctly traced, and I shall now proceed

to describe them in detail: first premising that there are certain portions which have been disarranged, or have otherwise suffered, during the restorations effected at various times; and the evidence of which must therefore be received with caution. These are: first, the colonnade and back wall between *a* and *b* (see Plate XXII.) which, with a strange want of discrimination, were reconstructed* by Major R. Smith from materials which had originally formed portion of the colonnade at *H*;—secondly, the windows in Kutb-ud-din's work, few of which escaped re-arrangement at the same time,—and, thirdly, the central grand Arch where Captain Wickham has inserted an impost for which the adjoining one afforded no warrant.

Let us commence with the pillars in the colonnades. In Kutb-ud-din's work† these are of *red and yellow sandstone*, as are also the lintels and domed roofs over them: they differ in height, in thickness, in the number of parts of which they are composed, and in the ornamentation with which they are covered, whilst the spaces between each pillar differ throughout varying between $5\frac{1}{4}$ feet, $8\frac{1}{4}$ feet, and every imaginable intermediate number; thus proving that they are the remains of older buildings worked up into a new design.

In the colonnades at *E*, *F*, and *H*, (Altamsh's work,) the pillars‡ are of *granite* neatly carved:—they also are of different lengths, and the spaces between vary like the last, ranging between $5\frac{3}{4}$ and 8 feet. They are much weathered and discoloured, which marks their antiquity, the whole proving that they too are old materials worked up again, but that they are not from the same source as those in Kutb-ud-din's work. In the colonnade at *F*, *G*, the pillars§ are also of granite, but clean and sharp as though fresh from the mason's chisel: they are plainly carved, are uniform in size, and are spaced at an equal distance apart of $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet.|| This shews that they were made expressly for the work in which they now stand.

* Major Smith in his report admits that he re-arranged this colonnade, and the most superficial examination will serve to shew that the pillars belonged to Altamsh's work.

This is confirmed by the statement of one Siwa Ram (now deceased) who, as head mason of Government works at Delhi for nearly forty years, had much to do with these restorations; and who assured me that this was the case.

† See figs. 1 to 4, plate XXIII.

‡ See fig. 8, plate XXIII.

§ See fig. 9, plate XXIII.

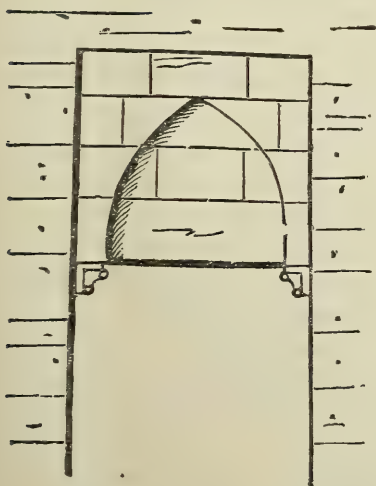
|| Some are $8\frac{1}{4}$ feet only.

Next as regards the enclosure walls. At B, the original angle of Kutb-ud-din's mosque is plainly discernible, and there is so great a difference in the style and quality of the masonry, that we can easily see that the north wing is a later addition.

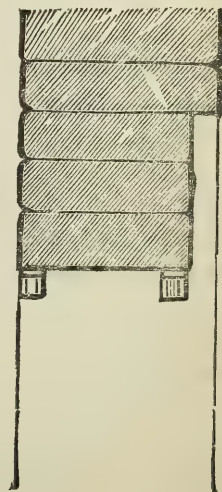
It is also evident that this latter is of the same date as the wall between E and F, a comparison of which with the wall between F and G, shews the following marked differences. In the first the stones are discoloured and weathered,—the remains of some older building—and a plain string course runs along the wall just below the springing level of the window arches:—in the second, the stones are clean, sharp and grey, evidently cut new for the work, and the string course is omitted: the junction of the two styles at F is clearly distinguishable. But the difference of style is most distinctly marked in the windows; those in E, F, are covered with lintels resting on corbels, a false horizontal arch being recessed on the outer face: those in F, G, have regular arches, with true voussoirs, running through the whole thickness of the wall.

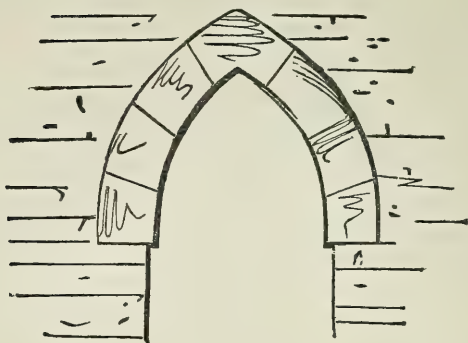
Sketch of Windows in E, F.

Elevation.



Section.



Sketch of Windows in F, G.

The absence of voussoirs proves that the former dates from the early part of the 13th century ; whilst the date of the latter is determined by the red sandstone gratings fixed in the windows, which are identical in style with those in the Alâi Durwâza ; into the walls of which at F, G, they have been carefully bonded from the very first, the whole forming one work, the date of which is fixed by the inscriptions on the gateway.

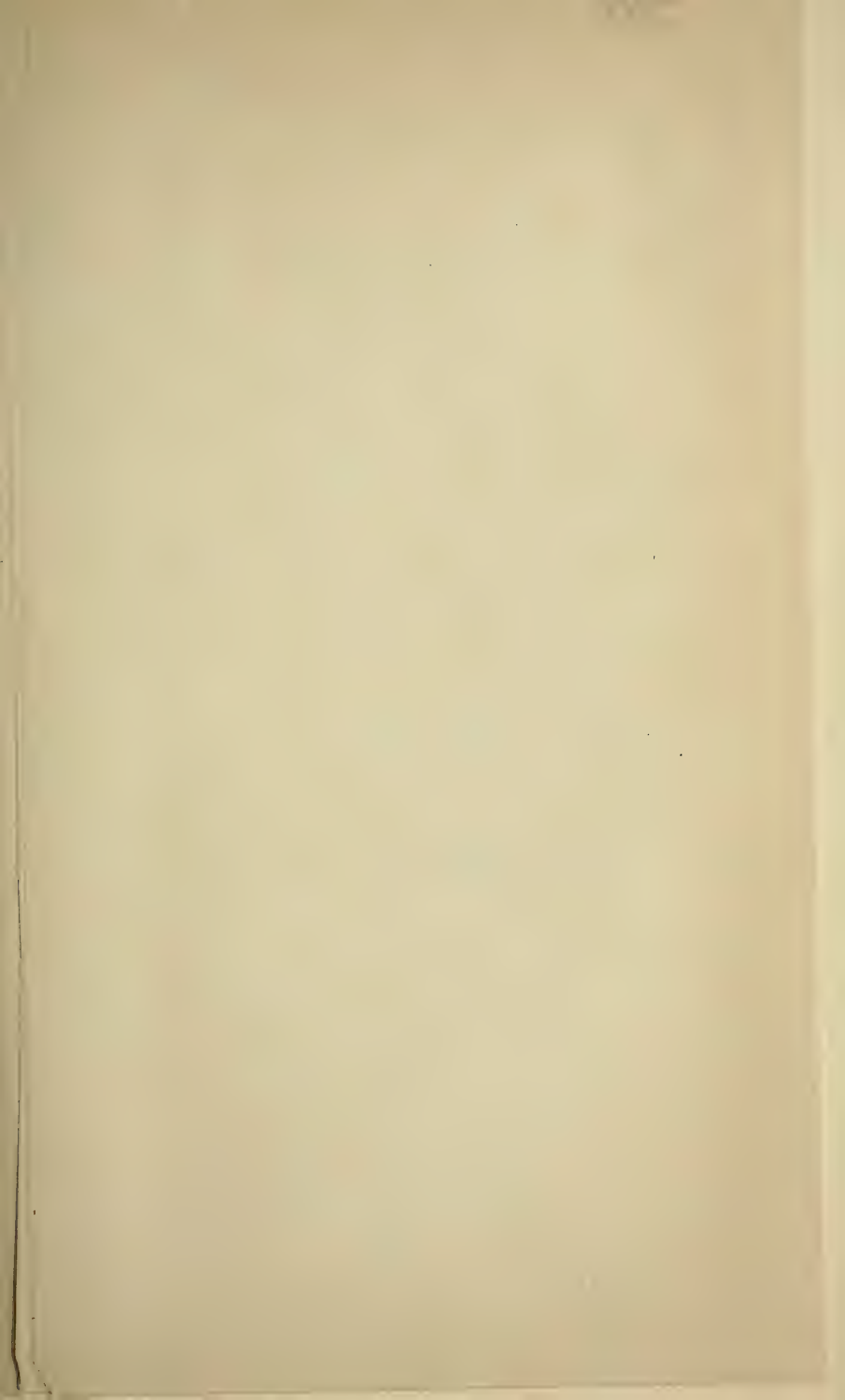
Lastly, the great arches are quite different in style,* the piers in the central portion are square on plan, they have no niches in them, and the jambs are left uncut ; the arches have no impost† and are slightly ogee in the head ; and the ornamentation is simple, monotonous, and decidedly Hindu in character.

The side arches are on a lower level than the central ones ; the piers have arched niches ; and their jambs are cut into octagons and ballusters : the arch springs from a cap to one of these latter, which does duty as an impost, and it is pointed in the head and not ogee, whilst the ornament is later in date and more elaborate. (Fig. 6 and 7.)

All these peculiarities are repeated in Altamsh's tomb, and we are thus enabled to fix the date of its construction. It must have been erected by the same builders and at the same time as the north and south wings of the mosque, *i. e.* in the king's own lifetime, and not

* See Fig. 5, plate XXIII.

† As I have said before, the impost to the centremost is an addition of Captain Wickham's. It should be removed.






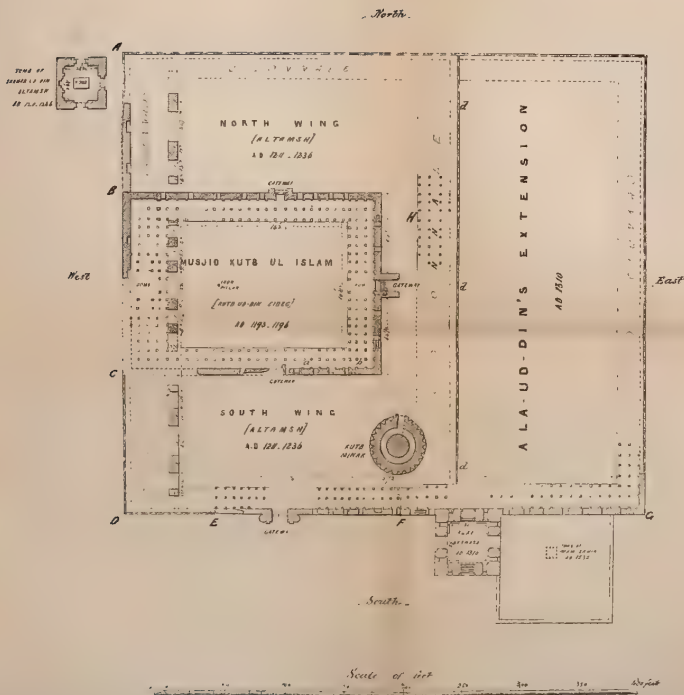
PLAN OF THE
MUSJID
KUTB-UL-ISLAM

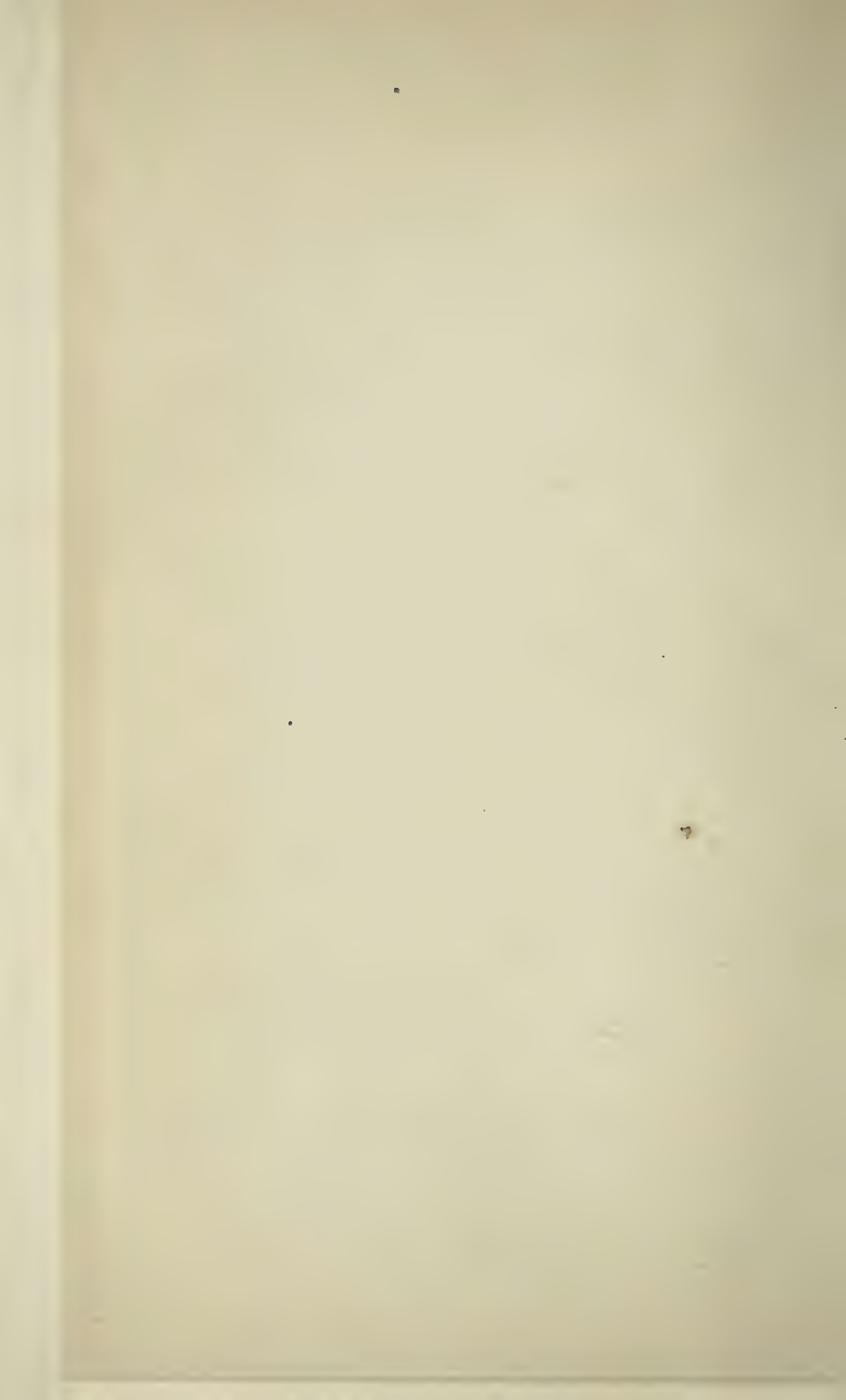
ALA-UD-DIN'S
MINAR
A.D. 1310



NOTE.

Kutb-ud-din's work is shown thus: 
Altamash's Do. Do. 
Ala-ud-din's Do. Do. 





during the reigns of his two immediate successors, as has been surmised by some writers, who forget how short and troubled was the rule both of Rukn-ud-din Firuz and of his sister Razia Begum.

We are thus still able to trace the work of each of the three builders of the great mosque. The original building of Kutb-ud-din is shaded with detached lines on the annexed plan (Plate XXII.): it was an oblong enclosure, $142\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $108\frac{1}{2}$ feet inside dimensions, with the famous iron pillar towards its west end; behind which, and immediately in front of the western colonnade, towered five gigantic arches. These were a mere mask, carrying no roof, that of the chamber behind being at the same level as the other portions of the colonnade; as may be seen from the few remains of it which still exist. Shamsh-ud-din Altamsh, some years later, added the north and south wings (shaded with dots on plan), thus converting it into a triple mosque.

These wings were similar in design to the central portion; a mask of three large arches in front of a pillared chamber, with a colonnade enclosing an open space 353 feet broad, but only 200 feet deep, the eastern wall having run along the line *d, d, d*. Not a trace of this is now to be seen; but the back columns at H. shew signs of having been formerly built into it, and this, with other features, tends to prove that these pillars are standing "in situ."

In A. D. 1310, Alaudin commenced his grand extension (shaded with long lines on plan) which, if completed, would have made the inner enclosure 355 feet broad and 372 feet deep. He built the superb Alái Durwáza as a grand entrance from the city side; and to the north, near his palace in Siri, began a second and greater minar. General Cunningham is of opinion that this latter was stopped in 1312; this was probably the case, and it may with safety be surmised that, like the minar, the mosque was never completed.

Before quitting the subject, the difference of style between Ala-ud-din's work and that of Kutb-ud-din and Altamsh requires a slight notice. We know from Ferishta, that the former monarch had a large body of skilled artificers attached to his household, for whom he found constant employment; and these must have been well trained in the principles of Saracenic architecture and construction; for there is no very noticeable difference between their work and that of contemporary builders in other Mahommedan countries. But with the two

first Pathan kings it was different ; and there is a strange mingling of Saracenic design with Hindu construction, that is not a little curious. Thus, the idea of the Kutb Minar is borrowed from those still standing on the plain of Ghazni :—the great arches were of Mahommedan design, and so too was the square massive tomb of Altamsh. The details of the ornamentation are also more decidedly Saracenic than is generally supposed ; thus the curious battlements over the second and third doorways in the minar are almost exact copies of those in the mosque of Kalaon at Cairo, (built A. D. 1284), whilst the honey-comb work under the balconies of the same structure, differs in no perceptible degree from that in the Alhambra at Granada. But, side by side with much that is purely Saracenic, we find many details that are indisputably Hindu in character, as, for instance, the bell and chaplet ornament ; the wheel roses ; the lozenge inside an oblong pannel ; and the scroll tracery on Kutb-ud-din's arches ; whilst the arches are all *horizontal* and of purely Hindu construction.

The explanation of this phenomenon is a simple one :—the early Mahommedan settlers were rude soldiers, too much occupied with hard fighting to settle down into artizans ; their leaders might find leisure to plan and design, but for the actual execution of their projects they were compelled to depend upon the conquered people, who, in carrying out their orders, introduced many of those details with which the practice of centuries had familiarised them.

KUTB MINAR.

General Cunningham has written so fully and carefully on the subject of the Mahommedan origin of this column, that a few brief notes are all that need be added here. That Kutb-ud-din designed and commenced it, is generally considered to be proved by the occurrence in the lower story of Mahammad Ghorî's name, (shewing that it was begun in his lifetime, and therefore in that of Kutb-ud-din) ; and also from its bearing the name of this latter monarch. Its position with regard to Kutb-ud-din and Altamsh's work, may be adduced in favour of this view.

It stands symmetrically enough as regards the former, opposite to and just outside the south-east corner, but with the colonnades of Altamsh it fits in altogether awry, standing just 11 feet *outside* the

south one, and about 8 feet *inside* the east one. Had Altamsh designed it, he would surely have placed it more symmetrically. As it now stands, it is evident that the position of his colonnades was regulated by some considerations* which we cannot now determine, and that the Minar, which was already in existence, had to fit in with them as best it might.

As regards the age of the various portions as they now stand, the most superficial examination will shew that the three lower stories, whilst they are identical in style and construction with the work of Altamsh, differ completely in both particulars from the two uppermost ones. In the former, except the outer casing which is of sandstone (no marble being used anywhere), the walls are of cut granite; so too are the central pillar and the steps, which latter are not plain lintel blocks, but are carried upon corbels projecting from the walls. All the doorways and openings have Hindu horizontal arches; the sandstone is old and discoloured, and the ornamentation dates from Altamsh and Kutb-ud-din's time. In the two upper stories all is changed; the walls, steps and central pillar are of bright red sandstone, white marble being introduced into the outer face, the steps have no corbels, the arches have true voussoirs, and the ornamentation is identical with what we find prevalent in the latter half of the 14th century. We are thus warranted in assuming that these two stories were *newly designed* and built by Firuz Shah in A. D. 1368.

General Cunningham agrees as far as the fifth story is concerned, but thinks the fourth is original, as the inscription over the doorway dates from the reign of Altamsh. But this doorway is exactly similar to the one above; it is built of similar stone, is of a similar shape, and, like it, has true voussoirs; it is clear therefore that the old tablet of Altamsh has been simply re-built into the new work of Firuz Shah.

As regards the work executed in A. D. 1503, by Sikandar Shah Lodi, I can find no traces of it; and presume therefore that it consisted of *bonâ fide* repairs, such as those undertaken by the British Government forty years ago.

* Probably owing to the nature of the site, which falls rapidly to the south-east from about the point marked E on the plan.

LALKOTE.

General Cunningham has endeavoured to identify the grey granite walls of the large citadel that lies around the Kutb mosque and minar with the Lalkote, or "Red fort," constructed by Anang Pâl in A. D. 1060. Now, as he himself admits, no Mahommedan writer alludes to any *citadel** of that name, either when describing the capture of the city, or on any other subsequent occasion. On the contrary, Zia Barni speaks of the final assault as being made through the Ghazni gate of Rai Pithora's fort, which we know to have been a distinct place from Lalkote; and the possession of which evidently implied the capture of the whole city. Had Lalkote been a strong citadel, as Cunningham supposes, a subsequent attack upon it would doubtless have been necessary, in order to secure quiet possession of the place, and this second assault would have been recorded in history.

We know that the palace in which Rai Pithora resided, when the city was captured, stood upon the site of the Kutb-ul Islam mosque, to make room for which it was removed. I am decidedly of opinion that *this* was the building known among the Hindus as Lalkote, and that only on this supposition can the total disappearance of the name from history be explained. The work of Anang Pâl would thus be but a small one, containing probably the one temple built by that monarch and the famous Iron Lath; and it would derive its name, like the Lall Mahal and Ruby Palaces of a later date, from the red sandstone of which it was built, and which was afterwards worked up into the great arches, the Kutb Minar, and the tomb of Altamsh.

SIRI AND THE SITE OF ALA-U-DIN'S ENTRENCHMENT.

I now pass to the consideration of General Cunningham's arguments in favour of identifying Siri and the site of Ala-u-din's entrenchment with the ruined city of Shahpoor, and his rejection of the theory, upheld by Lewis, Cope and Burgess, that the first of these was merely the name of the citadel around the Kutb.

Neither Ferishta nor any other writer makes mention of Shahpoor. As regards the origin of the other three places, we learn: first, that

* The prohibition against beating kettle drums in Lalkote mentioned by General Cunningham is merely a regulation of the *palace* in which Kutb-ud-din took up his first abode.

Ala-u-din built a fort, or city, called Siri : secondly, that he rebuilt the walls of the ancient citadel of Delhi ; and, thirdly, that he built a palace* on the spot where he intrenched himself during the Mogul invasion of A. D. 1303.

There is much that is plausible in General Cunningham's arguments, but a little consideration reveals their weakness, which, indeed, appears at times on the very surface, as, for instance, where he admits (page lxi.) that the present walls of the Kutb citadel were rebuilt by Ala-u-din, although he has already described them as the work of Anang Pâl:—and again, at page lxviii., where he confounds the palace built on the site of Ala-u-din's entrenchment with the famous Kasr Hazâr Situn ; forgetting that this latter was commenced by Nasir-u-din Mahmud, and completed by Ghaias-u-din Balban at least fifty years before the Mogul invasion.†

Let us first endeavour to ascertain, from their style and characteristics, the age of the present ruins of Shahpoor and of the Kutb citadel. The walls of the latter are very strong and massive ; the curtain is flanked by towers placed at short intervals ; the ditch is deep and broad ; the main gates are judiciously set in the re-entrant angles of the bastions ; strong outworks are thrown up at the weak points of the defences ;—all this marks a late date, when the science of fortification was well matured and thoroughly understood. This view is confirmed by the existence of an arch with true voussoirs in a barbican at the north-west angle, the shape of which is exactly similar to those generally used by Ala-u-din. It forms an integral portion of the wall in which it occurs, and has evidently been there from the first ; whilst the style of the masonry, and the manner in which it is bonded in with the main wall, shew distinctly that the barbican is of the same date as the rest of the walls, and we have thus proof positive that these, as they now stand, are the work of Ala-u-din and not of Anang Pâl.

At Shahpoor then are the remains of a palace and city wall of no great size or strength. The style of these, as shewn in the shape of the arches, walls and domes, is that of the end of the fourteenth or begin-

* Be it observed that this is always spoken of as a *palace*, and not as a city or fort.

† In the Ayin Akhberi a palace of this name is said to have been built by Mahommed Togluck, but I believe this to be a mistake.

ning of the fifteenth century; and no earlier date can with safety be assigned to them. This confirms the traditional report which assigns their construction to the Sultan Bhailol Lodi, who ascended the throne A. D. 1450, and whose remains are interred close by; and we are warranted in asserting that Shahpoor was not in existence until 150 years after the Mogul invasion, and thus General Cunningham's identification of it with Ala-u-din's palace and entrenchment of A. D. 1303 falls at once to the ground.

Let us next enquire, what remains still exist of that monarch's numerous buildings. Of these there are two distinct groups, and two only: first, the walls of the Kutb citadel, and the mosque, minar and palace within it; and, secondly, the mosque near Nizam-u-din Aulia's tomb, with the palace adjoining it, the remains of which are now known as the "Lal Mahal."* The first of these palaces cannot possibly be the site of Ala-u-din's entrenchment, for we know that this was on the open plain beyond the suburbs of Delhi. In order to ascertain whether the last fulfils any better the requirement of the case, let us examine carefully the history of Turghai Khan's invasion.

We are told that the Mogul Chief was induced to invade India by learning of the absence from the capital of two large armies which, as events shew, constituted the whole strength of Ala-u-din's forces. One of these, under the king himself, was besieging Chittore: the other, with which was the bulk of the Cavalry, was absent in Bengal; hearing of the Mogul invasion, the king hastily returned with the former, and proceeded to entrench himself, until succour could arrive from Bengal and the other provinces.

These succours could only reach him from the Doab, across the river Jumna; for to the north lay the Mogul army: to the west and south-west were the Mewaties, then, as always, a turbulent and disloyal race; to the south lay the dense jungle and forest through which, 200 years later, Shir Shah cut the great imperial road between Delhi and Agra. It thus became a matter of vital import, that Ala-u-din should hold in strength the principal crossing of the river. Owing to the range of Hills which lies to the east of the city, this crossing can only have been at one of two points; either through the gap at Togluckabad, or somewhere near Ghaiaspoor. The

* For a description of this, see Note A.

first of these must even then have been a swamp, and 20 years later was converted into a lake by Toghlucluck Shah; the presumption is therefore in favour of the latter site; and this presumption is strengthened by the fact of the suburbs having grown in this direction, (they would naturally creep along the principal road leading from the city :) whilst the old lines of road across the river seem to have led towards this part of its course. I conclude therefore that Ala-u-din would naturally entrench himself at this point, covering not only the fords of the Jumna, but also the towns and palaces of Ghaiaspoor and Kilukheree; whilst he would throw a strong body of troops into the old walled city and its citadel, so as to render them safe against a sudden attack.

If such were his position, we can understand the otherwise unaccountable apathy of the Moguls who, for two months, lay encamped opposite to his entrenchment without venturing to attack it, or to besiege the city. Had they attempted either course, they would have exposed themselves to an attack in the rear; and so they could effect nothing save a few marauding expeditions into the district about and against the unwall'd suburbs, until the approach of succour and (as is conjectured) the sudden assassination of their leaders by the emissaries of Nizam-u-din Aulia forced them to decamp. If Ala-u-din had entrenched himself, as Cunningham supposes, at Shahpoor, he would have been shut up as in a trap, cut off from all succour and unable to prevent the enemy from besieging both the city and his own position; although he could easily have saved Jahanpanah from being plundered by them; and as we learn from Ferishta that he was *not* able to check their foray, we must presume that it was because his position was some distance away:—in fact at Ghaiaspoor. I conclude therefore that in the Lall Mahal we have the remains of the palace built to commemorate the repulse* of the Moguls in A. D. 1303.

Let us now endeavour to ascertain to what place the name of Siri must be assigned. We must bear in mind that Shahpoor was

* May this not be the reason why Nizam-ud-din Aulia lies buried close to this palace? The flight of the Moguls was universally ascribed to the exercise of his supernatural powers, and what more likely than that the buried him here as being the scene of his supposed victory?

probably not built until the middle of the fifteenth century; that the walls of the Kutb citadel were rebuilt by Ala-u-din; and that there are no remains whatsoever of any other citadel or strong fort built by him.

The most prominent references in history to the fort of Siri are those connected with the troublous times which preceded and followed the invasion of Timur. In them it is always spoken of as a place of great strength, as the citadel of Delhi in fact. Thus Mallu-Khan* by its possession kept in awe the conflicting parties of Mahmud Togluck and Nasrat Shah;—twice† it withstood successfully all the forces that Khizr Khan could bring against it; and it was only taken by him after a third siege which lasted for four months: whilst thirty years later it was again besieged for three months without success. These facts, it need hardly be said, point rather to the Kutb citadel than to Shahpoor; for the former is a work of great natural and artificial strength; whereas the latter is a weak place, which had for defences a slight wall without any ditch, and which was commanded by the Brij Mandil and other lofty buildings in the adjacent Jahanpanah. In fact the history of this period can only be made intelligible on the supposition that the Siri held by Mallu Khan was the Kutb citadel; that Mahmud Togluck held the old city of Rai Pithora and Jahanpanah; whilst Firuzabad was occupied by Nasrat Shah; and we have then no reason to call in question the truth of Ferishta's statement regarding the meeting of Mallu Khan and Nasrat Shah at the grave of Khawaj Kutb-u-din Bakhtiar Kaki, a statement which completely identifies Siri with the Kutb citadel, within which the tomb of this famous saint may be seen to this very day.

General Cunningham endeavours to dispose of this very direct piece of evidence, by asserting that Ferishta knew nothing of the topography of Delhi; and he suggests that he was probably mistaken, and that the meeting in question took place at the tomb of another saint; one Shaikh Nasir-u-din Mahammad (better known as Roshun Chiragh Delhi) "which is just outside the south-east corner of Shahpoor." Now unfortunately for this emendation, this latter tomb is situated *within the walls of Jahanpanah and was in the possession of Mahmud Togluck*. It could not possibly therefore be the place where

* A. D. 1394—1396.

† A. D. 1411—1414.

his two enemies met publicly to swear a solemn league against him. As for Ferishta's knowledge of Delhi, a glance at his preface, and at the life prefixed to Briggs's translation of his history, will suffice to shew that the first portion of his great work (with which alone we are concerned at present) was composed before he had ever seen the city. He commenced to write in A. D. 1596, finishing the whole work in A. D. 1609: and, if he ever visited Delhi at all, it must have been in A. D. 1606, when proceeding on his embassy to Jahangir's camp at Lahore. But as his history was compiled from no less than fifty-five chronicles, the writers of many of which lived in Delhi and were eye-witnesses of what they wrote about, it is in point of fact their topography, and not his, that we have to do with, and we may accept it as thoroughly reliable in a simple matter like the one under discussion. I see no reason to doubt therefore that Siri was the name of the Kutb citadel:—and judging from the date of its appearance in history, I think we may fairly assume that the name was first given it by Ala-u-din when he rebuilt and strengthened it in A. D. 1304.

I now come to General Cunningham's* quotation from the Ayin Akhberi, to the effect that "Shir Shah destroyed the city of Ala-u-din which was called Siri, and founded another:" to which Syud Ahmad has added, on whose authority is not stated, that the materials of the former were used in the construction of the latter city. Now without for one moment impugning the accuracy of the General's translation and subsequent deductions, I must call attention to the notorious discrepancies which exist in the various copies of the Ayin Akhberi. In the one† now lying before me, not a word is said about the destruction of Siri; on the contrary it is Firuzabad‡ and its palaces which are said to have been demolished by Shir Shah. This is a much more probable statement than the one in General Cunningham's copy, and borrows strength from an argument adduced by him against the likelihood of Shir Shah's bringing his building material all the way from the Kutb citadel, when Shahpoor was only three and a half miles away. Now as Firuzabad lay still nearer, occupying indeed a portion of

* Page lxviii.

† A handsome quarto belonging to the "Delhi Society" (vernacular) and presented to that body by Colonel G. W. Hamilton, Commissioner of Delhi, whose fine collection of Persian MSS. is well known.

‡ See extract at the end: note B.

the site of the new city, it is evident that it would be a much more convenient quarry, and we can understand why Shir Shah pulled it down for the sake of the materials in it. In point of fact, Shir Shah was a reckless destroyer, and scrupled not to remove any building which could afford him material for his works; thus in the *Araish-i-mahfil* we read that he demolished the Koshuk Sabz, or Green Palace, which was situated in the old city, and Nur-ul-Haq also records other demolitions.

There remains one argument which, in appearance at least, tells against the identification of Siri with the Kutb citadel. Sharif-u-din, the historian of Timur, relates how that conqueror sacked equally the three cities of Delhi; *viz.*, Siri, Jahanpanah and old Delhi; the first of which lay to the north-east; the last to the south-west and the second between the two. Now we know, both from history and from the evidence of the ruins themselves, that there were then three groups of cities in existence; the first comprising the Kutb citadel, old Delhi and Jahanpanah; the second, Ghaiaspoor, Kilukheree, and the new city around them; and the third, Firuzabad and its three palaces. The two first were apparently connected by walled gardens, country houses and enclosures; the two latter were separated by an open plain, that of Firuzabad, which was the scene of Timur's battle with Mahmud Toghluck. That the Delhi plundered by the Moguls comprised the two first of these groups is evident from the fact recorded that, on quitting the hapless city, Timur marched three miles to Firuzabad: which is the exact distance between it and Ghaiaspoor; and we are therefore forced to the conclusion that the Siri here spoken of is the new city around the latter place.

Now what authority had Sharif-u-din for giving it this name? He was, as every one knows, a Persian born at Yezd and residing in Shiráz, where in A. D. 1424 (*i. e.* twenty-six years after Timur's invasion) he wrote his history. This he compiled from the elaborated reports, or annals, prepared by Timur's secretaries under his own eye; and from them of course he derived his knowledge of the topography of Delhi, which it does not appear that he ever visited, and at the siege of which he was not present. We have therefore simply to enquire what special opportunities Timur and his secretaries had, during their stay of one month in the place, for prosecuting enquiries as to the

names and localities of the various portions of a large and straggling city like Delhi. Turning to Ferishta, we find that Timur crossed the Jumna on the 13th January A. D. 1398, and on the 15th fought and conquered Mahmud Toghluk. On the 24th, when the first outbreak in the city took place, we learn that, "according to his custom after a success, he was busy in camp celebrating a grand festival,"—the nature of which was such, that for five days they could not convey to him any intelligence of the outbreak, and it is to be presumed that this scene of debauchery had been going on for some days. On the 29th he was sufficiently recovered to enter the city and take part in the carnage, which lasted for fifteen days more, when he marched out to Firuzabad and so home to Samarcand. Amid such a scene of constant riot, murder and debauchery, it is absurd to suppose that the principal actors in it could settle down quietly to topograph the city; and any statements made by them, which are unsupported by other evidence, or which are opposed to the assertions of better informed writers, must be received with extreme caution. It is true that Khondemir, in his *Habibu-s-siyar*, refers to Siri as one of the three cities of Delhi plundered by Timur; but this writer also was a foreigner, and passed the first forty-eight years of his life under the rule of Timur's descendants, residing for the greater portion of the time at Herat, where he wrote his history,* the facts for which he must of course have derived from Mogul and not from Indian sources. His statements therefore are mere echoes of those in Sharif-u-din, and with them must stand or fall.† We are thus I conceive, fairly warranted in assuming that Timur and his secretaries were in error. We know that the city around Ghaiaspoor never had any specific name; what more likely then that, finding here a mosque, palace and other buildings of Ala-u-din, and being told that that monarch built a city or fort called Siri, they confounded the two, and misapplied the name of the Kutb citadel to the city on the banks of the Jumna?

* Begun A. D. 1520.

† It is true that Khondemir came to India in A. D. 1528 and, whilst with Baber in Bengal, is said to have revised his work (see Elliott's *Historians of India*, page 123,) but it is doubtful whether he had then seen Delhi and, if he had, his visit must have been a hurried one.

This exhausts all the evidence at present available on the subject, and a calm consideration of it forces us to the conclusion that the Kutb citadel *is* the fort of Siri;—that Shahpoor is a modern place of no importance; that Lalkote has long since been swept off the face of the earth; and that the Lall Mahal marks the site of Ala-u-din's entrenchment in A. D. 1303.

THE VARIOUS CITIES OF DELHI.

I shall conclude with a few brief notes on the rise and duration of each of the ancient cities, shewing which of them were contemporaneous; and we shall thus get a clear idea of what that very indefinite word DELHI meant at various epochs in its history.

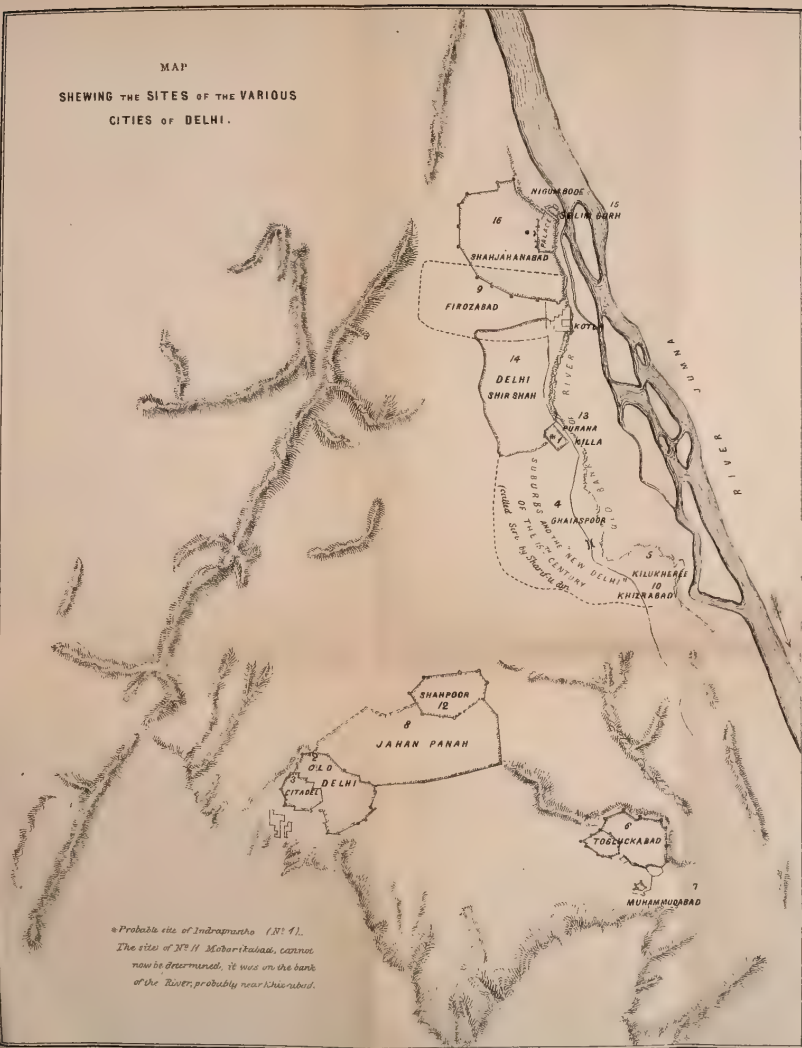
The Delhi of the Hindus and early Pathan Kings (A. D. 1060 to 1250) comprised only the walled city, now known as Rai Pithora's, and its citadel: which latter, when rebuilt by Ala-u-din, received the name of Siri.

A. D. 1250 to 1321.—By the end of the 13th century a large suburb had grown up outside the walls, stretching along the road to Ghaiaspoor and Kilukheree, near which the great main road to the east and south-east crossed the river Jumna. At these two places, country palaces had been erected by Ghaia-u-din Balban, Kaikobad, and Jalal-u-din; around which a new city was gradually springing up.

A. D. 1321 to 1354.—During the reigns of the two first kings of the house of Togluck, the city of Togluckabad and the fort of Mahommadabad (or Adilabad) were erected; and the suburbs above referred to were enclosed with a wall, receiving the name of Jahanpanah. Togluckabad was never a populous place, and seems to have been quickly abandoned. The insane removal of its inhabitants to Daulatabad would have much to do with this; but the finishing blow was probably given in A. D. 1354, when Firuz Shah removed the seat of government to his new city of Firuzabad, which he had just completed.

A. D. 1354 to 1398.—Delhi was now at the zenith of its greatness and contained larger population and more wealth than at any other period of its history; but the invasion of Timur was a death-blow to its prosperity and it sank rapidly from this time.

MAP
 SHEWING THE SITES OF THE VARIOUS
 CITIES OF DELHI.



* Probable site of Indraprastha (N^o 1).
 The site of N^o 11 Motarikasah, cannot
 now be determined, it was on the bank
 of the River, probably near Khirabad.

A. D. 1398 to 1450.—Both the old city and Firuzabad gradually declined; whilst the new city around Ghaiaspoor increased in size and importance; and in the neighbourhood of this latter the Syud kings took up their abode, building the forts of Khizrabad and Mubarikabad.

A. D. 1450 to 1530.—The old city had a slight gleam of prosperity under Bhailol Lodi, who built the palace and fort of Shahpoor; but his successor removed the seat of government to Agra, which thenceforward shared with Delhi the honour of being the capital of India.

A. D. 1530 to 1638.—The next addition was made by Humaiun who commenced to build the fort now known as the Purana Killa; a work which was completed by his conqueror Shir Shah Sur.

This monarch, as already described, destroyed much of Firuzabad and of the other cities about, and commenced walling in a city of his own; a work which the shortness of his reign prevented him from finishing. From this time until the accession of Shah Jahan the capital was rarely fixed at Delhi: but, though much shrunk in size, it still remained a flourishing place. Old Delhi was quite deserted; Jahanpanah and Shahpoor were still inhabited, but very sparsely. Firuzabad was in ruins; and the bulk of the population resided in Shir Shah's city and in the adjacent Ghaiaspoor, which had now become a mere suburb. The palace was inside the citadel of Din Panáh (Purana Killa); whilst, three miles away, was the fort of Selim Gurh, used only as a state prison; at the foot of which lay the ancient Hindu village and temple of Nigumbode.

A. D. 1638 to 1707.—The last change had now come, and in 1638—1648 Shah Jahan founded the palace and city of Shahjahanabad; from which time the city and population gradually shrank to their present dimensions. We learn from Bernier that, in the beginning of the 18th century, the only portions inhabited were the present city; a long chain of buildings near the Lahore gate, the extensive remains of Shir Shah's city, and three or four smaller suburbs. He describes the whole as being $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles long; which is, as nearly as possible, the distance between the present suburb of Kishengunge, outside the Lahore gate, and the large gateway built by Biudzin Khan opposite to the Purana Killa, measuring along what was then the line of communication through the bazaars.

A. D. 1707 to 1803.—The abandonment of Shir Shah's city was gradual;—the troublous times of the eighteenth century forced the defenceless inhabitants to take shelter within the walls of Shahjahanabad; and, when the British forces under Lord Lake took possession of that city in 1803, all beyond its limits had fallen into ruin and decay.

Chronological Table of the various Cities and Forts of Delhi.

1. *Indraprastha*.—Founded about the 15th century B. C.
2. *Old Delhi*.—Founded B. C. 57. Rebuilt by Anangpal I. A. D. 736. Walled in by Rai Pithora about A. D. 1180.
3. *Kutb Citadel*.—Built by Anangpal II. A. D. 1060. Rebuilt by Ala-u-din, A. D. 1304 and renamed by him Siri.
4. *Ghaispoor*.—A palace and fort built here by Ghais-u-din Balban A. D. 1266—1286. Other buildings added by Ala-u-din, A. D. 1295—1316. Was added to at various times and became known in the 15th century as the "new city."
5. *Kilukheree*.—A palace was built here by Möiz-u-din Kaikobad, A. D. 1286—1288. Another was constructed by Jalál-u-din A. D. 1288—1295, at which time the place was much enlarged.
6. *Togluckabad*.—Built by Ghais-u-din Togluck Shah, A. D. 1322.
7. *Mahammadabad*.—Known also as Adilabad, built by Mahammad Togluck, A. D. 1325.
8. *Jahánpanáh*.—Walled in by Mahammad Togluck Shah, A. D. 1325—1351.
9. *Firuzabad*.—Built by Firuz Shah Togluck, A. D. 1354.
10. *Khizrabad*.—Built by Syud Khizr Khan, A. D. 1414—1425.
11. *Mobarikabad*.—Built by Syud Mobarik Shah, A. D. 1435.
12. *Shahpoor*.—Built by Sultan Bhailol Lodi, A. D. 1450—1488.
13. *Purana Killa*.—Built by Humaiun, A. D. 1530—1540.
14. *Delhi Shir Shah*.—Founded by Shir Shah Sur, A. D. 1540—1545.
15. *Selimgurh*.—Built by Selim Shah Sur, A. D. 1546.
16. *Shahjahanabad*.—Founded by Shah Jahan, A. D. 1648. Palace commenced, A. D. 1638.

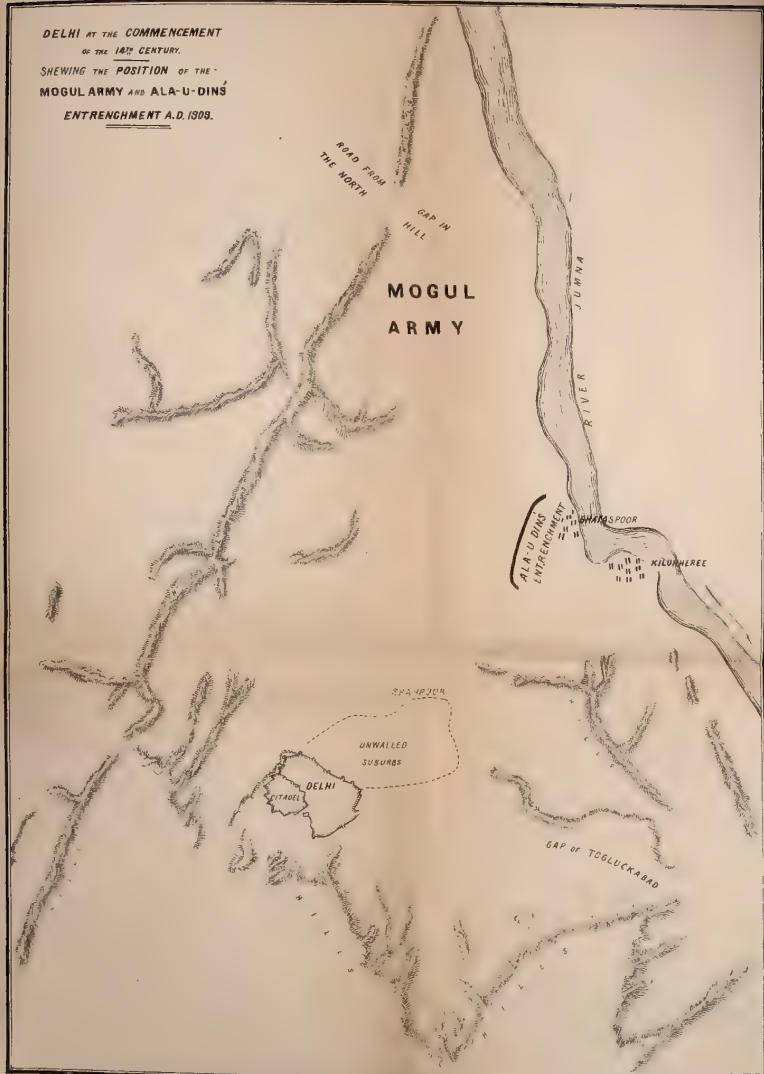
NOTE.—The side brackets shew what cities were contemporaneous with each other.

DELHI AT THE COMMENCEMENT

OF THE 14TH CENTURY.

SHEWING THE POSITION OF THE
MOGUL ARMY AND ALA-U-DIN'S

ENTRENCHMENT A.D. 1309.



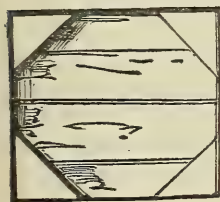
NOTE A.

The existing remains of the Lall Mahal comprise a small domed chamber, a large double storied pavilion, and a few remains of the original enclosure wall built into work of a later date.

In the lower or basement story of the main building, there are several arches of the shape always employed by Ala-u-din, and which can be easily identified as his work. The upper story is composed almost wholly of red sandstone, (whence the name of "Lall Mahal,") and is supported on pillars, so as to form an open hall. It has the appearance of a number of small pavilions, covered with stepped and sloping roofs, grouped around a central dome, which is, in section, a true oval pointed at the apex. This is a shape commonly employed at the commencement of the 14th century.

Small pavilions like the above reappear as a common feature in the architecture of the 16th century, and are much used by Akhbar in his various buildings; but an examination of these later ones shews that

Plan looking up.



they are always* domed under the sloping roof, whereas those in the Lall Mahal are ceiled with large flat stones in the Jaina style, like those in the colonnades of the Kutb-ul-Islam Musjid. This arrangement, so far as Mahommedan architecture is concerned, is peculiar to the work of Kutb-u-din Eibeg, Altamsh, and Ala-u-din.

The style of the ornamentation, of the battlements, and of the mouldings so strongly resembles that in the "Alai Darwaza" at the Kutb that there can be no reasonable doubt as to the two buildings having been designed and built at the same period; and we have thus ample warrant for describing the Lall Mahal as the work of Ala-u-din.

* In Delhi at least; I have never had an opportunity of examining those at Shahdeára or Futtehpoore Sikri.

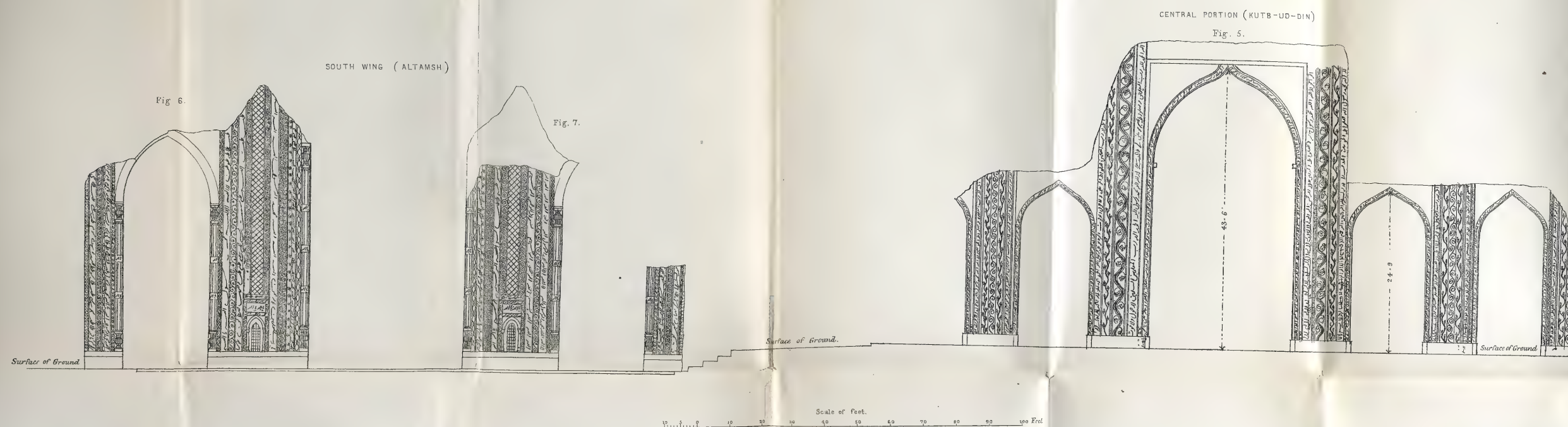
NOTE B.

Extract from the "Ayin Akhberi" of Abul Fazl.

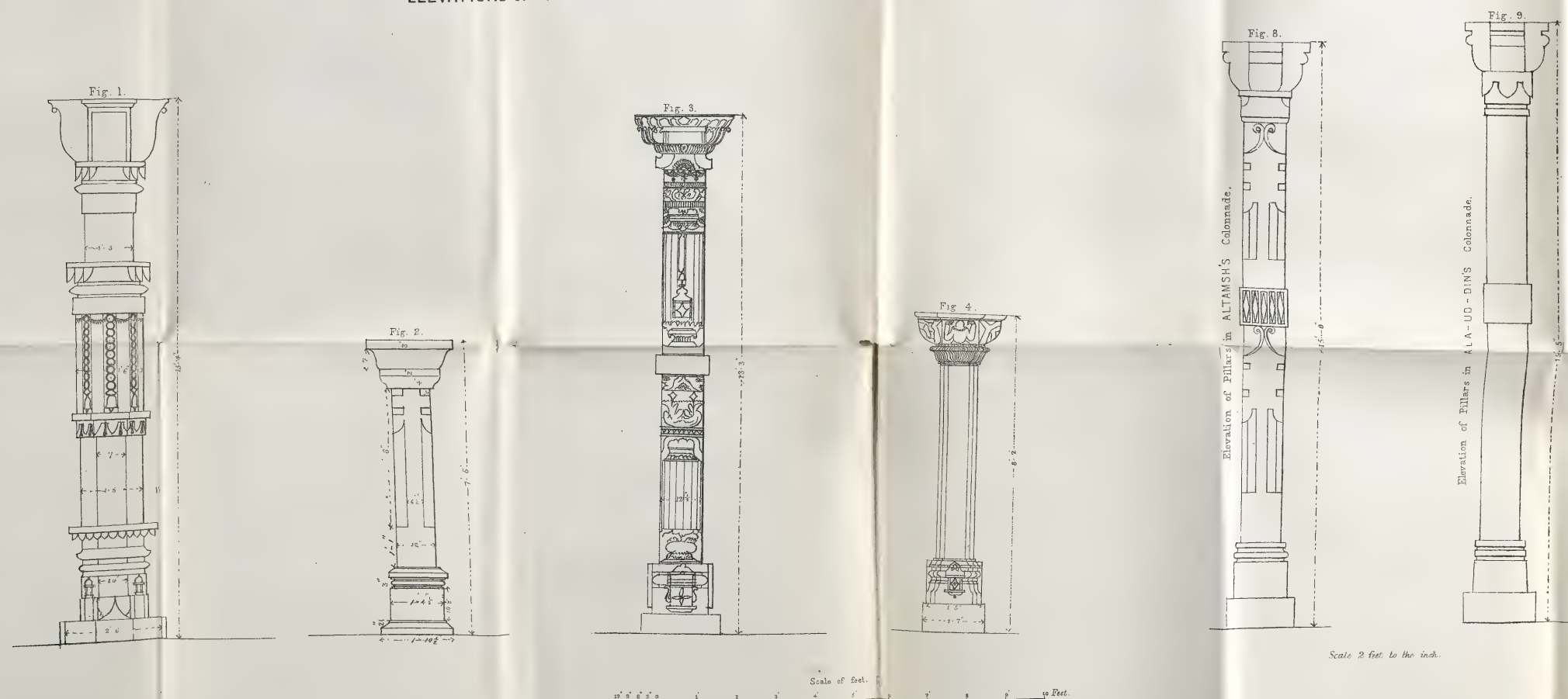
درین شهرهای تحت اندر نام طول صد و چارده درجه و سی و هشت دقیقه اگر برخی از اقلیم دوم بنگارند همانا بعرض حال آگهی بخشد مرا عار کوه جنوبی ازان ستاشد سلطان قطب الدین در قلعه پتهوره بسر سرند سلطان غیاث الدین بلبن قلعه دیگر آساس نهاد آنرا مورغن اندیشد عمارتی بر ساخت دل کشاد کنکار در رسید معزالدین کیتباد بر ساحل چون شهری دیگر گردانید و آنرا کیلو کهری گویند امیر خسرو در قران السعدین آن شهر و این حصرا بر ستاید و امروز خوابگاه حبیب اسبابی والاعمارتی نو بران آساس یافت سلطان علاوالدین شهر دیگر بنیاد نهاد قلعه نو بر ساخت آنرا سوي گویند تعلق آباد از آثار تغلقشاه سلطان محمد پور او مصر دیگر فراهم آورد بلند الوابی بر افراخت هزار ستون از سنگ رحام بکار رفت دیگر منازل دلکشا بروی کار آورد سلطان فیروز بنام خود شهری بزرگ آباد گردانید و دریای چون را بریده نزدیک روانه ساخت سه گروهی فیروز آباد کوسکی دیگر بر افراخت جهان نما نام فراخ سه لقب زده بود و دین پناه نام نهاده شهر حال علائی و بران کرده جدا شهری برا را شت •

Elevation of Pillars

NO. 8



ELEVATIONS OF PILLARS IN ORIGINAL COLONNADE BUILT BY KUTB-UD-DIN EIBEG.





Notes on Pilgrimages in the Country of Cashmere. By Major
D. F. NEWALL, R. A.

[Received from the Punjab Auxiliary Branch of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,
31st July, 1866.]

The tendency of the Hindu inhabitant of Cashmere, to localize in his own small, though lovely valley the fabled incidents of his religion, common to all lands where the Brahminical faith prevails, is, I believe, generally known. In putting on record, therefore, a few notes on the pilgrimages of Cashmere, I may be, perhaps merely on a small scale, assigning to local spots the fables which more properly belong to the entire Hindu Pantheon, and have their localities elsewhere in Hindustan.

I proceed, however, to what I find in my notes as No. 1 of the pilgrimages annually undertaken by native Hindus of Cashmere, and which is known as that of "*Amr-nauth*" (Lord of Immortality); and before proceeding to detail the steps of the pilgrimage, a few words of description of this far-famed locality may be interesting: I say far-famed, because the full moon of August annually has pilgrims from all parts of India, as well as Cashmere, assembled in honour of its tutelary Lord.

The gypsum cave of *Amr-eeshur* or *Amr-nauth* (Lord of Immortality), sacred to Mahadeo, is situated in the rugged chain which separates Cashmere from Thibet. Its elevation above the sea cannot be less than 15,000 or 16,000 feet, and even during summer its approach is invested with the snows of winter. Wild fantastic peaks and desolate steppes surround the spot, and the grand old glaciers of Sooroo and Wardwun tower in the far horizon.

Hindus perform a yearly pilgrimage to this shrine, and to a devotee from the city of Srinuggur there are no less than twenty-two places of Snân where religious ablution must be observed, before he can approach the holy adytum, or sacred cave of *Amr-nauth*. Legends or absurd fables are attached to these spots, and the following is a brief record of some of them.

The Hindus of Cashmere, followers chiefly of Siva the "Destroyer," and Ophists, believing moreover their own small valley to contain within its limits the germ or type of the whole Hindu Pantheon,

must needs stumble at every step upon some stock or stone communicative of fabled adventures of their deities; adventures as puerile and fantastic as can be well conceived, containing few elements wise, historic or sublime, not redeemed from utter absurdity by the glory of poetic imagery, nor, like the myths of the Greeks and other ancient nations, by the vigour of a profound cosmogony.

Fatuous ecstasy impressed on their features, the wretched idolaters, male and female, may be seen, stark naked, abjectly grovelling in the snow and dragging their bodies over the "lingum" or "phallic emblem," which in the form of a stalactyte issues from the frozen fount of the "Lord of Immortality."

I could draw attention, however, to these various places of Snân or religious ablution, at the various steps of Hindu pilgrimages, as presenting in some instances objects of archæological interest. Thus one may pass many times along a road without observing any object worthy of attention, until guided thereto by the pilgrim; when, turning a few paces into the jungle at the road-side, some stone or symbol or other object of passing interest to the antiquarian may often be discovered. I beg to note this point as worthy the attention of the members of our Society. I would mention also at this point that in Cashmere, (where the Mahommedan faith has prevailed for about five centuries) it is no unusual thing to see both Hindus and Mussulmans worshipping at the same holy place. This may be attributed, on the one hand, to the Mahommedan in some degree still clinging to the superstitions of his ancient Hindu ancestors; and on the other, *i. e.* in the inverse case of a Hindu worshipping at a Moslem shrine, to the fact that the fragments of many overturned or ruined Hindu temples have been used in building the Mahommedan mosque or zearut. I could instance examples of both these cases. With these remarks I proceed to the actual detail of the pilgrimage to *Amr-nauth* as detailed in the Shastr on the subject, and as partially verified by myself as to the localities of the various stages.

Proceeding from the city of Srinuggur on the seventh day before the full moon of August, the pilgrim proceeds up the river Jhelum (or Vitastá) and arrives at the first place of Snân or religious ablution, called "*Shriya*," the whole or collected waters of the valley previous to its desiccation by the Múni Kashiapa. I am not aware of any

symbol or remnant of antiquity at this step, which is literally a "bathing-place" on the river near the island above the city.

(2.) The pilgrim next arrives at "Pandrethon," where the foot-step of Suttee, the wife (or active principle) of the Destroyer appears to her enamoured lord in his pursuit of the flying fair. The temple at this place is well known, and has been described by far abler pens than mine. I may, however, briefly mention that it was built about A. D. 913—921, in the reign of king Pártha, and escaped destruction when the ancient capital was burnt. It was subsequently, perhaps, used as a Mahommedan tomb, and so again escaped destruction at the hands of the fanatic zealots Shahabooddeen Sikunder Bûtshikan and others. It stands in the centre of a tank 125 feet square, is 22 feet in size, is dedicated to Siva, and is not a Boodhist temple as stated by some.

(3.) The next forward step on the pilgrimage is "*Padinapore*," city of Lukshmi (dweller in the Lotus flower, (*padam*.) There are here a few ruins, a high phallic column, and I believe others, but I forget their exact nature, and my notes are silent on the point.

(4.) *Jubroroo*, (Love of Youth) sacred to Sheo and Mahadevi: a lingum or phallic emblem is, I think, the symbol at this step.

(5.) *Awentipore*. The city of king Ven or Awenti, who acquired the power of walking on the water from his zeal in the worship of Siva. In his time the great flood occurred which overwhelmed the cities of the valley, so the powers attributed to him in the Shastr may perhaps have proved useful. There are some rather extensive ruins at this place well worth a visit.

(6.) *Hurriepore*. The city of Ganesh, the elephant-headed—yellow.

(7.) *Wagahamoo*. House of Wâg (spirit of the air, aider of the Immortals) from whose weedy fountain cornelians are said to be ejected—a pool or spring.

(8.) *Husti-ki-nar-keoun-Nargum*. "The breathing of the ears and mouth of the elephant" (Gánesh.) The fable on this head is too absurd and puerile to be noticed, and is one of those which led to my general remarks on the subject at the head of this paper. In fact, I may say generally that in the Shastr detailing this pilgrimage, fables of intense absurdity are attached to nearly all these places,

many of them expressive of the blandishments, or amatory phases, of the pursuit of Mahadevi or Suttée by the *creative symbol* of her consort the Destroyer, a disgusting and fantastic myth too indecent to be more than remotely alluded to.

(9.) *Chakredhar*. The abode of the *Quoit-thrower*, an agnomen of Vishnoo.

(10.) *Deokie-zan*. Wife of Hurrichundra Raja.

(11.) *Wuzzeeshur*. A name of Mahadeo signifying the conqueror.

(12.) *Hurrichundra Raj*. The palace of king Hurrichundra.

(13.) *Tejwarrah*—the abode of Mahadeo.

These four last are portions of the once famous city of old Rajbarrie (or Bijvihara) whose temples, including one hundred phallic columns, were overthrown by the Moslem zealot Shahaboodeen.

At *Hurrieeshur*, a ghât on the river on the upper side of the modern town, are grouped some very remarkable fragments well worthy of minute observation. The word signifies "Father or Giver of all."

(14.) *Soorie Goophar*. "Caves of the sun." At this place it is fabled that Mahadevi was pursued by the Demon Bamásoor (enemy of the whirlwind.) She thereupon prayed to Siva for power to destroy the demon, who was accordingly annihilated by fire, and his name hence changed to Busmáswár (the enemy burnt by fire). This cave is not the celebrated cave of the sun at Martund, I think, but one on the hill-side on the right bank of the river Liddur (or Sumbooderi,) but I have not visited it.

(15.) *Succur-gaom*. The trunk of the elephant (Ganesh) is here supposed to be visible beneath the waters of the Liddur or Sumbooderi (swallower of waters.) This river joins the Jhelum at Bijvihara.

(16.) *Buddraroo*. The place of embraces.

(17.) *Sullur*. The place of generation.

(18.) *Ganeshbúl*. River of Gánesh. The pilgrim bathes at *Bruggaterut*, the shrine of "Brug," a devotee.

(19.) *Neela Gunga*. Mahadeo here applied the "soorma" to his eyes which gave the blue colour to the Gunga, a river which is fabled to have flowed from his head.

(20.) *Tanášhur*. "The fixed abode," because here Mahadeo became stationary. This place is a camping ground near the Sésšnâg lake, a fine sheet of water which is passed by the pilgrims on their way to the next and last step of the pilgrimage, but which does not become invested with an eminently sacred character until their return from the cave of Anerreth.

(21.) *Panch Taringini*. The five rivers proceeding from the head of Siva. At this beautiful spot the pilgrims encamp and pass the last night of the pilgrimage previous to their ascent to the holy caves.

(22.) Commencing the ascent in the early morning, the pilgrims pass by the holy rocks of Amreeshur (giver of immortality,) whence issues the philtre of immortality proceeding from the crested head of Mahadeo, the drink or ichor of the immortals.

Here the devotees may be seen rolling on the ground amid the snow and ice, ecstasy depicted on the face at the idea of divine afflatus. Retiring from the caverns, they return to Panch Taringini, and then again pass the night, preparatory to their return journey down the valley to the Seshnâg Lake, where they finally bathe. The pilgrimage is then complete, and the pilgrims disperse to their respective homes. It is fabled that amidst the rugged peaks surrounding this Lake lived Watsnâr, a spirit of the air, who, having chased away the host of heaven, thus established a tyranny until slain by Mahadeo, who after this adventure is fabled to have "rested on the bosom of Sésšnâg;" Sésšnâg being represented as a huge serpent with 100 heads. A picture of this touching spectacle is in my possession, and a curious production it is, and suggestive of the "ophistic" nature of the worship of the Hindoos of Cashmere.

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I have the details of 11 other pilgrimages to various parts of Cashmere, varying in length; that to the sacred lake of Gungabul under the Hur-mookh peak is the next longest, although several of the minor pilgrimages involve a graver issue to the devotee. Space will not permit me, in this paper, to do more than note the salient points of a few of these.

(1.) The pilgrimage of *Hur moktur Gunga* (or Gungabul) above alluded to, in the Lar pergunnah, is to be found in the Gunga Maha-

tim Shastr. There are 14 places of snân or religious bathing in this pilgrimage; the last being the holy lake of Gungabul in which the Hindoos cast the ashes of their deceased relatives. The time for this pilgrimage is midsummer.

The return from this brings us to the highly interesting ruins of Razdân or Razdoing; the only important temple of Cashmere not noticed by Cunningham, a detailed description of which I may perhaps be able to afford in a future paper.

(2.) The pilgrimage of *Martund* in which are seven places of snân.

(3.) Pilgrimage of *Vetusta Khoond* the source of the river Jhelum or *Vetusta*, in which are ten places of snân.

(4.) Pilgrimage to *Suhoojun Teerut* the burning ground—three places of snân.

(5.) Pilgrimage to *Kúpál Muchám* (the escape of the head from sin), undertaken by criminals for the release of sin.

(6.) Pilgrimage to *Sheeva-Devî*.

(7.) Pilgrimage to *Kûnhyie Matár*,—four places of snân.

(8.) Pilgrimage to *Teiposh Kur* in the Bongil pergunnah,—two places of snân.

(9.) A second pilgrimage to the *Vetusta Khoond*,—eight places of snân.

(10.) A fabulous pilgrimage or progress of Raja Bhagéerut, the tutelary genius or deity of the river *Vetusta* or *Jheelum*,—ten places of snân, and this closes the catalogue of my notes on this subject.

No. 2.

The pilgrimage of Hur-mooktur Gunga (or Gungabul), in the Lar Pergunnah, as detailed in the Gunga Mahatim Shastr.

As stated above, there are 14 places of “snân” or religious bathing to be observed in this pilgrimage; viz. 10 previous, and 4 subsequent, to the pious act of casting the ashes of deceased relatives into the holy lake, in whose mournful waters lie the ashes of generations of Hindoos.

The writer of this paper will not easily forget the impression, the view of the cold still waters of this desolate lake produced on him, viewed as they were about sunset one autumnal evening, a snow storm

beginning to set in off the lofty granite peaks of Hurmookh, its guardian mountain, whose dark shadow fell across the mournful waters of the lake.

However not to occupy time, I proceed to the detail of the stages of the pilgrimage, as detailed in the Shastr mentioned at the head of this paper.

Four days before midsummer, the pilgrim, having collected the ashes of his relatives deceased during the year, sets out from the city and proceeds to the first step of the pilgrimage, namely, "*Vecha Khoond*," the pool of the creator, or Brahma, who at this place is stated to have created "*Vishnoo*," the preserver, the 2nd person of the Hindoo Triad. This is an interesting pond surrounded by willows and other foliage, about a mile from the shores of the Dhull lake on the road towards Lar.

(2.) Having passed through the sedgy marshes which border the Hákrit-bul or lake of weeds, the pilgrim approaches the second step, *Gundoor-nugger*, city of the Gandoors or angels. There are here some ruins of what must formerly have been an extensive city. They are mere fragments; but it is probable that objects of interest might be discovered here amidst the marshes and weedy flats formed by the Sind river, which is lost amidst the creeks and sedges of the Hakr-sir lake in the close vicinity, could the means and leisure be obtained for the search.

(3.) The next step is *Màhírjî-gäon*, the residence of Mahadevi who there forbad her consort to approach: this is implied in the word—Ma (do not) zih (come).

(4.) *Numoor*,—the bathing-place. A pretty village in the Sind valley near the river. There are a few mines, tanks, &c.

(5.) *Karrung-ka-Nuddie*,—a residence of Vishnoo; Karrung being a name of Vishnoo signifying "granter of prayer."

(6.) *Ramaradun*. Place of prayers, being the forest where Raja Bhágeerut established himself for prayer to Siva.

(7.) *Mahulish Merg*,—"the meadows of the buffalo," so called because Suttée is here fabled to have roamed about, *like a buffalo feeding*, whilst in search of Mahadeo, her consort.

(8.) *Humsádar*,—"the gates of King Huns" (the swift one), a name of Raja Bhagéram, who is stated to have here cleft the pass with

an arrow. On the road we pass several small lakes, amongst them those called Bráhmisir and Ashiféeroo.

(9.) *Nundi-kettur*. The abode of Nandi the attendant bull of Siva. This is a very interesting lake, also close under the peak of Hurmookh, and divided only by a narrow ridge from Gungabul.

(10.) *Gungabul* or *Hurmookhtur Gunga* (Hur-Siva—Mookh head Gunga river,)—the river or water proceeding from the head of Siva. In this solitary mountain lake, the Hindoos, as before mentioned, cast the ashes of their deceased relatives; which after incremation are collected and here conveyed once during the year, at midsummer. Having reached this utmost point of the pilgrimage and performed the proper rites (which I cannot, however, narrate, having visited the spot in the late autumn of 1852, long after the time of the pilgrimage,) the pilgrim commences his return by a different route; and after a long and fatiguing march, quits the higher range of hills and descends to the *Nara Nag* (11) or Lake Getara which may be considered the 11th place of snân of this pilgrimage, which is not yet completed. On the banks of this pool (for it is little more) the pilgrims leave their grass hill shoes (phoolas) and hill sticks; many of which I observed lying about. This pool is closely adjacent to some very remarkable ruins—those of Razdoing, which I propose to make the subject of a separate paper. A *Sonne*, or mysterious afflatus, is supposed to proceed from these ruins, a particular portion of which is especially held sacred by the pilgrims who salaam there before leaving the spot. *Nára* is a name of Wussisht Bhugwan, (son of Brahma,) who is stated to have here worshipped Siva.

(12.) *Wangût*,—Wan being a name of Surroosuttie, consort of Brahma, signifying “the Talkers.”

(13.) *Woosun*. The place of *all* the shrines as implied by the name. There are several small temples in the vicinity of these two last-named stages.

(14.) And last. The pilgrim has now re-entered the Sind valley and proceeds down it on his return journey, repassing successively (without however the necessity of ablution) Nos. 5, 4, 3 and 2 of the pilgrimage, until he comes again to No. 1, viz. *Veche Khoond*, where he finally bathes, and the pilgrimage is complete.

I would indicate *Gandoornugger* No. 2 of the pilgrimage as a pro-

missing locality for excavation, and the ruins of *Razdár* or *Razdoing*, the only group of temples not noticed by Cunningham (to whom, however, I long ago communicated their measurements and description,) deserve a far more searching investigation than the very cursory one I was able to carry out during the short visit I paid them in September 1852.

I now proceed to give outlines of the remaining pilgrimages of which I possess notes.

No. 3.

The pilgrimage of *Martund* I find as No. 3 of those in my journal. *Martund* properly so-called, and not “Muttun” or “Matan” as frequently written, leads the pilgrim from Srinuggur up the river and over much the same ground as that to Amernauth, although the places of snán are different. These are as follows :—

- (1.) *Deokie Yar*,—Sacred to Deokie, wife of Rajah Hurrichund.
- (2.) *Doomia Shrúm*,—The abode of a devotee named Doomia.
- (3.) *Anant Nág*, which is one of the pools or tanks at Islamabad, Anant being a name of Vishnoo. These tanks, filled as they are with fish of the carp tribe (*ciprinidæ*), have frequently been described by travellers, and need no mention.

(4.) *Gutim Nág*,—pool of Gotima, a devotee. I believe this is also one of the tanks or springs at Islamabad, and the description of No. 3 may perhaps apply to this.

(5.) *Charkabul*, so-called from “*chark*,” the fissure or spring head of the stream fabled to have issued from the cleft in the sun as described in the following :

(6.) *Martund*—(*Mart*, the fissure—*Und* open). Mahadeo is fabled to have possessed three eyes,—the “Sun,” the “Moon,” and the “Subterranean Fire.” He threw down the eye forming the Sun on Martund, which being broken, from it flowed the pool and stream of Martund.

This well-known spot has been too often described to require further notice here.

(7.) The pilgrim returns by *Anant Nág*, the No. 3 of this pilgrimage, where he bathes, and the pilgrimage is complete.

No. 4.

I now proceed to detail the pilgrimage of *Vetusta Khoond* (Virnag)

the source of the river Jhelum. Again the pilgrim, departing from Srinuggur, proceeds up the river over nearly the same ground as the foregoing, and passes the following places of holy ablution :—

1. *Sooneyar*. The place of the moon.
2. *Gunputyar*. The place of Gánesh.
3. *Mullyar*. Sacred to Brahma; Mull being a name of Brahma.
4. *Shriya*. “The whole.” See No. 1 of the pilgrimage to Amer-nauth.

5. *Bejbeharie* (or *Bej-leshur*) “giver of aid,” built by Hurrichundra Raja, has already been described. In the details of this pilgrimage an absurd story is narrated of Mahadeo in reference to a certain devotee’s wife (the lady’s name is discreetly suppressed), in whose house the hundred Lingums or phallic columns of Bejbiharie are stated to have been constructed.

6. *Waupoosh*, a part of old Bejbeharie.

7. *Hur Nág*,—Sacred to Mahadeo; Hur being a name of that deity.

8. *Virnáy*. Sacred to Mahadeo, giver of orders. This beautiful fountain, the reservoir of the spring head of the Jhelum, has been often described, and is too well known to need notice here. The circumjacent buildings are Mahomedan, but from the Hindoo legends attached to the locality, they are held sacred by men of both creeds. The same remark applies to Anant Nág (Islamabad), Bala Pam Rishi, Keer Bownie, and numerous other localities in Cashmere.

(9.) *Vetusta Khoond*,—the actual spring head or fountain of the river Jhelum. The name *Vetusta* signifies a “span,” the imaginary width of the stream at its source.

(10.) Return *viâ Baranoola* to *Kootee Teerut* the 10th, and last step of this pilgrimage, (signifying a crore or the junction of a million teeruts), bathe, and the pilgrimage is complete.

No. 5.

The pilgrimage of *Suhoojun Teerut* or the burning ground.

1. *Mahadamuttie*.

2. *Luhoojun* (spontaneous fire from the earth), of which the following is the fable.—The gods being here assembled for prayer to Mahadeo, were interrupted by the demons (*Rakhshusas*), whereupon Mahadeo raised fire from the earth in order to destroy them. To the

present day the earth there is combustible; and at times grows hot enough to cook rice. When this is known, the Brahmins from all parts of Cashmere flock there.

(3.) Return by Mahadamuttie again, bathe there, and the pilgrimage is complete.

No. 6.

The next I find is that of the pilgrimage of *Kupál Múcham*, which has already been alluded to as involving a grave issue to the Hindu undertaking it. The following is the description given in the Shastr. Siva (Mahadeo) had slain the wife of a demon (Rakhshus), and was pursued by the sin (or nemesis) of the act. By the advice of the "sun" or luminous emanation of Mahadeo, who is stated to have dwelt at Shupeyon, he formed a "Nag" or fountain for the purification of sin. This pilgrimage is accordingly resorted to by great criminals. "Even the slayer of a hundred Brahmins may be cleansed from his sin by the performance of ablutions in the *Kupál Múcham Nag*," "Lake of the escape of the head from sin." The time of this pilgrimage is midsummer.

No. 7.

A pilgrimage to *Shewa Devi* in the Bring Pergunnah for retired devotees only. The Nag or Lake is sacred to Siva, but I find nothing further noted in regard to this pilgrimage, nor do I know its exact locality. I believe, however, it is near Shahabad, towards the Meribul pass.

No. 8.

I now proceed to No. 8, or the pilgrimage of *Kúnie Mátár*, which leads the pilgrim down the river to *Baramoola* (more properly *Wara Mool*, *Wara* being a name of Vishnoo, the preserver, signifying the "Hog," who is fabled to have at this place rooted up the earth of the valley from beneath the water of the primæval lake, in fashion of a hog, with his tusks.) This of course bears reference to the Hindu fable of the original desiccation or draining of the valley by the Muni Kashyapa, in which he is stated to have been assisted by Vishnoo.

(2.) *Papaharun Nag*,—"The pool of the putting away of sin." The 2nd step of this pilgrimage is fabled to have been formed by Mahadeo

at the request of Vishnool, in order that his disciples might escape the destructive vengeance of the former deity.

(3.) *Kinchijie Mátár*,—"The rock of the mother" sacred to Mahadevi. Siva, whilst here engaged in self-meditation, was disturbed by a demon whose destruction followed.

(4.) Return, perform *snán* again at *Baramoola*, and the pilgrimage is complete.

No. 9.

The pilgrimage of *Tripoosh-kur* in the Bongil pergunnah, a spring of water so called as being the supposed place of meeting of Brahma, Vishnool, and Mahadeo, the Hindu Triad, being literally the meeting of the *three*. The Shastr, interpreted by a Brahmin worshipper of Siva or Mahadeo, says, "Here pray to Mahadeo!" I may as well, perhaps, take this opportunity of saying that the details of all these pilgrimages were obtained through a Brahmin of this sect, a wretched old man, whose sympathies may have led him to exaggerate the importance of the localities and pilgrimages sacred to the Destructive Principle, the object of his peculiar veneration, at the expense of the remaining personages of the Hindu triad.—However, to proceed to the next step of this pilgrimage. (2.) "*Karg*" the eater. Here "*Grúd*," the bird-like steed of Vishnool, was seized by a serpent god who began to eat him. Here *snán* must be performed. The pilgrim must remain three days in prayer to Vishnool the preserver, and the pilgrimage is complete.

No. 10.

A second pilgrimage to the *Velusta Khoond* (see No. 4,) is as follows.

(1.) *Kanibul*—Kani being a name of Siva.

(2.) The *Teerut* at the juncture of the *Vetusta* and *Sumbooderi* or *Rhiddur*.

(3.) *Deokie Zar*. (4.) *Bejbehavie*. (5.) *Sungum*. (6.) *Shriya*. (7.) *Mullyar*. (8.) *Gunputyar*. (9.) *Soomyar*. (10.) *Baramoola*.

I find this noted as above, but it appears to be a sequel or return pilgrimage from *Vetusta Khoond* or *Virrag*, viâ *Wanpoo Hurnag*, and thence to the points noted: *Kanibul* being at the bridge of *Islamabad*.

No. 11.

I now come to the last pilgrimage of which I have noted the details, and which may perhaps be almost more properly called a fabulous account of the river Vetusta, as I am not aware that it is at any time undertaken by the Hindus of Cashmere, and as I rather think that some of the places named are under the waters of that river. I extract exactly as I find it in my notes.

“Fabulous account of the origin of the river Jhelum or Vetusta.”

“Mahadeo being here engaged in self-contemplation, Raja Bhágérút arrived, and prayed for a Nág or spring in which to bathe and be cleansed from his sins. A stream then issued from the head of the destroyer which, on arriving at *Wampoo*, was *swallowed* by a certain demon, rejoicing in the name of *Kalneemie Assur*. A second spring was in like manner swallowed by the thirsty demon. Whereupon Raja Bhágérút descended from his place of prayer at Vetusta Khoond, and engaged the demon, whom, after a brisk encounter (described in the graphic language of the Sanskrit ring (sic in MS.) he is stated to have “*injured, but was unable to destroy or drive away.*” (Kalneemie Assur had probably graduated in the Vedic art of self-defence!) In fact it seems a polite way of stating that the Raja got the worst of it, as the demon is stated to have “*given chase,*” and to have come up as far as Hurnag (Virnag) in pursuit. At this, however, the wrath of the destroyer was aroused. He encountered the demon, and slew him, *got his “head in chancery” and finally “grassed” him.** I have in my possession a picture of this event where Mahadeo is represented as literally “*sitting*” on his face! Lion (or Mahadeo) then commanded the spring to follow Bhagirat Raja, who, descending the valley, passed successively.”

1. Kanibul. 2. Sumbooderi Tirat.

3. Deokieyar. 4. Bejbeharie. 5. Sungum.

6. Shriya. 7. Mullyar. 8. Gunputyar.

“9. Soomyar. 10. Baramoola, the residence of Raja Bhágérút, and where the pilgrimage terminates.” Thus far my notes! These places represent the course of the river, and seem nearly identical

* I am unable to translate with sufficient unction the various phases of this grand passage of arms (or wrestling match) between the two champions; and I hope the Society will pardon the terms employed as equivalents.

with those detailed in No. 10, pilgrimage, but as they are noted as separate, I so transcribe them. I may mention that the notes from which the above pilgrimages have been taken were made fourteen years ago, and in a few instances may contain inaccuracies, as my almost total ignorance of Sanskrit may have led me to misunderstand in some few instances the translator, who read to me in *Persian* his own versions of the Brahminical fables. For myself I confess to an utter distaste for this especial branch of research. The Hindu religion, as interpreted by its wretched representatives of the present day in Cashmere, seems a base alloy, and a corrupt and paltry veneering over the fables (themselves absurd enough) of the later Vedas..

The original grand and pure moral code of Ménu seems quite lost sight of ;—priestcraft and abject superstition have of course stepped in and vitiated fables already sufficiently gross and material in their symbolical Vedantism ; whilst the petty ceremonial customs and observances of modern Hinduism can only excite ridicule and disgust in the mind of the student. I have long desisted from the uninviting pursuit, and it is with much distaste that I have now transcribed, from notes and data long since collected, these few details, which, however, I was unwilling should altogether be lost, as they may tend to guide abler scholars to deeper research than I was ever able to make ; and possibly in some of the localities alluded to, inscriptions, or other fragments of interest to the Society might be found. Apologizing for the fragmentary character of this paper, I will now bring it to a close, as the subject has been, as far as I am concerned, exhausted.

A Vocabulary of English, Balti and Kashmiri, compiled by H. H. GODWIN AUSTEN, Capt. H. M., 24th Regt. Topl. Assist. Gt. Trigl. Survey.

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This Vocabulary of Kashmiri and Balti words was compiled from time to time in leisure hours of rainy days, while surveying in those countries. It does not profess to be strictly correct, being taken from so many sources, in so many parts, and from, generally speaking, the common people. Several of the words may possibly be only common to a single district or valley, which is frequently the case, especially in those least frequented, or where the people are a mixed race, as in the Kishengunge, Wurdwan and the upper part of Dras valley.

In the Balti words, those having the first, second or third letters marked with dots under them or a line, as ish *ish*, such syllables are slightly sounded before the word of which the full sound follows after, which is a peculiarity of the Tibetan dialects,—as also the letter TZ and TS.

Parts of the Body.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Kashmiri.</i>	<i>Balti.</i>	<i>Kistwári, &c.</i>
Ankle.	Gīt.	Kámi Gūt.	git.
Arm.	Nur.	Prúkhpa.	baon.
Armpit.	Kūtz.	.....	kuchali.
Beard.	Dhor.	Smükra.	H.
Belly.	Yūd.	Thoáh.	eed.
Body.	Pan (fr tun s.)	.....	zieu.
Blood.	Kūth (fr rakh s.)	Krūk.	rath.
Bone.	Udidj.	Rúspa.	H.
Bowels.	Andrum.	r. Gúah.	H.
Brain.	Wūs.	Klütpah.	mèzo.
Breast.	Wūteh.	chu chu.	H.
Do. of a woman.	Būb.		H.
Calf of leg.	Groz.	.....	pini.
Cheek.	Gūll.	Müngül.	kakri and gul.
Chin.	Hongeing.	Kosko.	chùn si.
Corpse.	Múd.		H.
Buttock.	Sūkūdj.	.....	gūltsūndo.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Kashmiri.</i>	<i>Balti.</i>	<i>Kistwari, &c.</i>
Ear.	Kūn.	ishná.	H.
Elbow.	Kūnwūt.	Púrúks, krimoks.	kúndori.
Eye.	Oitch.	Mikh.	atch.
„ ball.	Lál.	.....	.....
„ brow.	Boomb.	Sminma.	brahmoo.
„ lash.	Oitcher wal.	Mikh shok.	purh.
„ lid.	tor.	Mikh Phūk.	niali.
Face.	Bhút.	Okdong.	H.
Finger.	Ongegee.	Zúgú.	H.
„ little.	Kis.	Tibichúng.	kunèti ungoli.
Thumb.	Niet.	Tècho.	noth.
Flesh.	Marz.	Shè (short).	mas.
Foot.	Khore.	Küngma.	khore.
Forehead.	Dèker.	Spūlbah (tail—)	kapal.
		Gonchero.	
Hair.	Mus.	Gospo (Locks—)	
		Snūs kore.	
		also Wal (bal) kesh.	
		in Hind.	
Hand.	A'ther.	Lukpa ལུཀཔ	H.
Head.	Kūlla.	Go.	roth.
Heel.	Kour.	áth Stingma.	thùr-rhi.
Knee.	Kot.	Būkhmo.	khùtha.
			zanoo.
Knuckle.	Mūrm.	Gut, the condyle	anguli ka bat.
		of any bone.	
Leg.	Zūng.	Zúk.	H.
Lip.	Wúbh.	Kūlpūkh.	oth.
Liver.	Kreu marz.	Chinma.	H.
Lungs.	.....	Huing.	shunknar.
Marrow.	Wūs.	.....	dùndh.
Moustaches.	Gontsè.	Sūmdül.	H.
Mouth.	Aos.	Kūkore.	ási.
Nail.	Nūm.	Zermúns.	noth.
Navel.	Tún.	.....	bontú.
Neck,	Hóte.	Zgema-zingma.	tanth.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Kashmiri.</i>	<i>Balti.</i>	<i>Remarks, Kishtwari, &c</i>
Nose.	Nust.	Snūmzúl.	H.
Nostril.	Nuk were.	———shong.	nūshkuli.
Palm of hand.	Mūns Athè.	Lūk tul.	H.
Penis posterior.	Momur.	.....
Rib.	Kūd.	.....
Spittle, saliva.	Thōk.	Thú.	H.
Shoulder.	Pheuk.	Spú mah, rostud.	H.
Side.	hul kain.	Sthèmah.	stong tong.
Skin.	.....	Bukhsa.	niali.
Sinew.	.....	.....	sir ?
Breath.	Zámun.		
Skull.	.....	Spièu.	taloo.
Sole of foot.	Tul Poot.	Kan thil.	tulwai.
Sweat.	Gúmer Arakh,	Khmúl choo.	pursa.
Thigh.	Zang.	.....	tussi.
Throat.	.....	Stergong.	
Toe.	Niet.	Kami thècho.	pair ke noth.
Tongue.	Ziau.	Chě.	zib.
Tooth.	Dand.	Tso.	H.
Urine.	Mütter.	.....	choti.
Vein.	Rūz.	Tsa.	sir.
Waist.	Trek.	Skètpa.	mūd.
Womb.			
Wrist.	Hotz.	Lūkipramo.	bini.
Lip (2nd time.)	Wúth.	Kūlpūkh.	
Back of hand.	.....	Lūk pir dong.	H.
Temple,	.....	Sna mik.	phūrni.
Heart.	.....	tloah.	H.
Lungs.	.....	Lering.	
Small of back.	.....	Sketpah.	H.

EATABLES, DRINKABLES.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Kashmiri.</i>	<i>Balti.</i>	<i>Kishtwari.</i>
Bread.	Jsoát.	Kúrba.	
Butter.	Thein.	Karpo marh.	nūmi.
Arsenic.			
Assafetida.	.....	.....	gunka.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Kashmiri.</i>	<i>Balti.</i>	<i>Remarks, Kishtwari, &c.</i>
Aderuk, Ginger.			H.
Cheese.	Tsamun.	Pruse.	H.
Cocoanut.	Kúpŭr.		
Butter milk.	Gúrŭs.	{ Dŭrba. S. fr. Go a cow and Rus, juice.	
Dŭnea.	Dainwul.	Oosú.	H.
Eggs.	Tool.	Biepihun.	tool and H.
Fat.	Churb.	Tsil.	meuz.
Fish.	Gadè.	Nya.	H. [thús.
Flour.	Ort.	Bŭkhphe(wheat)	thrús phè (grain)
Ghi.	Ghiau.	Marh.	H.
Gour.	Gore.	Same.	H.
Gum-arabic.	Sŭmbŭk.	.....	Kurmachi.
Honey.	Marnch.	Z. Biangtsi.	marchi.
Meat.	Nátè.	Shă.	mas. <i>Punjabi.</i>
Milk.	Doad.	Omah.	H.
Longue (cloves).	Rong.	Zèru.	H.
Rice.	Tomul.	Brŭs	H.
Salt.	Nún.	Pyyou.	loon.
Sugar.	Mishere.	H. Kurrah	H.
Tea.	Chaie.	chá.	H.
Water.	Ab	P.choo. Kashmir.	H.
Pepper (black).	Krún Maritz.	Sneerma (kachúl)	H.
Do. (red).	Wŭzl do. or waugun waritz.	Sneerma.	pipli H.
Huldi.	Jider.	Yŭng.	H.
Elachi	Áler.	Eler.	H.
Zira.	Zieur.	Thŭlè.	H.
Saffron.	Kong.	Kŭr kŭm.	H.
Sulphur.	}	Den, Mŭzi.	H.
Vinegar.		same as Hind.	H.
Apricot oil.	.....	Chŭli mar.	H.
Mace (dal chini),	.....	same.	H.
Opium.	.....	aphine.	aphoo
Poison.	.....	Tŭk.	H.

English. *Kashmiri.* *Balti.* *Remarks, Kishtwari, &c.*

PARTS OF A HOUSE, ITS FURNITURE, &c. &c.

Basin.	Lügün.	Karyül.	pholoo.
Ghusal-khana.	Seran küt	.....	none.
Beam.	Konib.		H.
Bed.	Charpai.	same as Hind.	küt.kat.
Bell.	Rúnyè	Züngül, Tripshil.	H.
Bellows.	.....	S. Bùpa.	dümni.
Blanket.	Tsader.	Karh.	H.
Bolster.	Shondgon.	is Niüs.	shirana.
Cage,	pingürá.	same as Hind.	H.
Cradle.	münzül	.....	phǔngūra.
Curtain.	purda	same as Hind.	H.
Door.	Bar	z. go.	doar. H.
Fan, Punka	Wáwüz	Bianyep.	H.
Hinge.	Kieal.	.....	none.
House.	Lürh, Nüns.	Nüng.	H.
Jug.	Nore.	.....
Key.	Koonj.	Limik.	H. and P.
Knife.	Shrák.	Gri.	P.
„ clasp.	„ púch.	.....
Ladle.	Bod chonch.	Zerbü	Dokhi.
Lamp, chirag.	Tsongh.	Skongbü.	H.
„ wick.	Sorth.	... ..	H.
Lock.	Küluph.	Tzimah.	H.
Mat.	Wüggoo.	Wüggá.	phuri.
Spoon.	.....	Phrawün.	
Paper.	Kákúd.	Shok shok.	H.
Pestle & mortar.	Kauj	.....	H.
Mortar.	Kajwüt	.....	H.
Pestle for rice.	Mohul	... ..	mossul.
Mortar do.	Künj.	. ....	ookah.
Pestle 'worked with the feet.	Inder mohul.	.....	junder mossul.
Pillar.	Thüm.	.....	kauth.
Plate.	Bán.	.....
Gunpowder.	Shorè.	Ismun.	P.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Kashmiri.</i>	<i>Balti.</i>	<i>Remarks, Kishtwari, &c.</i>
Quilt.	Lèhāf.	likto.	
Roof.	Tálo.	.....	H.
Room.	Kút.	.....	P.
Weighing-scales.	Trúkr	Trúkri.	Trúkri.
Sealing-wax.	Lach.	.....	H.
Sieve.	Pairam.	Dundul.	H.
Ditto for chuck- ing up grain.	Shúp.	phailo.	chüdi.
Spoon.	Chonch.	... ..
Spout.	Nore.	.....
Stairs, Ladder.	Hare.	.....	shiri.
Tray.	mujma.	.....
Veranda.	Dalan.	.....	pusara.
Wall.	Dos.	.....	kanth.
Water jar.	Note.	Bajho.	H.
Fork.	.....	Kutsè.	H.
Window.	Dore.	.....
Well.	Krúre.	.....	none.
TRADES.			
Baker.	Kaseder: the fem. is termed as in Hind. kanderi.	.....	none.
Barber.	Nawid.	Takúr.	H.
Blacksmith.	kar.	Garba.	H.
Boatman.	Hanz. <i>m.</i> huzni <i>f.</i>		H.
Carpenter.	Chan.	shingkün.	trakn P.
Cowherd.	Goor, Gopanroch.		H.
Fisherman.	Gad Hauz.	.....	none.
Goldsmith.	Sonur.	serghr.	H. & P.
Groom, syce.	Chur badár.	chirpon.	Ghora ka tailia.
Husbandman.			
Labourer, cooley.	mazúr.	khúrpah.	H. & P.
Merchant.	Sodāghr.	t Songpa.	H.
Milkman.	Gour.	.....	{ none in Kishtwar &c. low and disgraceful to sell or weigh out milk.
Milk woman.	Gour Bai }		

<i>English.</i>	<i>Kashmiri.</i>	<i>Balti.</i>	<i>Remarks, Kishtwari, &c.</i>
Oil-maker.	Til wain.		
Meter.	Watil. <i>m.</i> watidj <i>f.</i>	.....	chūra-phungi.
Painter.	.....	same as Hind.	
Physician.	.....	Do.	bèdh.
Potter.	král.	Zũmkũr.	
Shepherd.	Páhũl.	Lukzi.	gũddi.
Shoemaker.	Mũch.	ṭh Lũmkũn.	H.
Tailor.	Sůtz.	Heelũm.	sochi.
		jikardo.	Kunmug.
Washerman.	Dob.	Chũk chũk kũn,	H.
		Gosneakũn.	
Waterman or Beastie.	} Sáker.	Chúpah.	H. mashki.
Cook.		Hásari.	aboti.
Musician.		Mon.	H.

MANKIND.

Bachelor.	Anhor.	.....	kowara.
Boy.	netchũ.	Bhũ,(Prũ maug)	mũtha.
Child.	shũrũ.	.....	do.
Dwarf.	Tsot.	Chũt.	
Girl.	Koor.	Bhũmo.	kũri.
Infant.	Mausmahũn.	Tsũntse.	none.
Man.	Maneo.	Mee.	H.
Maid.	Unhurish koor.		H.
Married man.	none.		H.
Married woman.	none.		H.
Orphan.	Vatim.	same as Hind.	shonda.
		Todtsè.	
Widow.	Mond.	Dokpo.	Rand.
Widower.	.....	Phoriung.	none.
Woman.	Zenana.	Bũstring.	P.
„ unmarried.	.....	Phoriang.	
Bridegroom.	.....	Bokhpo.	marai and lara.
Bride.	.....	Bokhmo.	Lari.

ANIMALS.

Camel.		Snango.	H.
Ass.	khũr.	Bormboo.	khota.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Kashmiri.</i>	<i>Balti.</i>	<i>Remarks, Kishtwari, &c.</i>
Mule.		kuchil.	H.
Baboon or } Monkey }	ponz.	Shèdi (large) Wendon.	H. H.
Bat.	Rat kreel.	† Senbiu.	cham chirik.
Bear.	Harpet.	Drengmo.	{ black—reech. red—braboo.
Buffalo.	Mansh.	Mahi.	H.
Bull.	Dund.		H.
Cat.	Brèref, Brore. <i>m.</i>	Billa.	bilari.
Cow.	Gau.	Balang—Bhang (iskar.)	H.
Deer (barking).			
Dog.	Hun.	khi H.	shúna.
Elephant.	Host.	Thláng poeko.	H.
Fox.			H.
Goat.	Tsáwulm. <i>m.</i> Tsá- witch <i>f.</i>	Rah, (young) r- eu,	tsèli.
Hare.			H.
Pig.	Saur.		H.
Horse.	Gúr.	s Tah.	H.
Rat.	Guggor.	Biúa.	mosha.
Sheep.	Hond, kät. <i>m.</i> Gobe. <i>f.</i>	Forong (mas.) Lá. (fem.)	H.
Otter.			gho.
Marmot.		Phúa.	H.
Calf.	boo.	Boo.	
Ibex.	kheyl.	skieu.	

BIRDS.

Crane.			
Crow.	Káw.	Bérakh.	H.
Chikor.	.....	.....	chukkra.
Dove.	.....	.....	Gúgútú.
Duck.	Buttuck.	same as in Hin- dustani.	H.
Eagle.	.....	biendokh.	gidz.
Hawk.			
Heron.			

<i>English.</i>	<i>Kashmiri.</i>	<i>Balti.</i>	<i>Remarks, Kishtwari, &c.</i>
Kite.	Gánt.		
Minah.	Hèure.	.....	H.
Moorgha. } fowl.	Kokúr.	Beapo.	P.
Moorghi. }	Kokr.		
Owl.	Rat mogul.	Tsunbiu.	H.
Paddy-bird.			
Parrot.	none.	.....	shúa.
Partridge.			H.
Pigeon.	Kotr.	Phúrgon.	alüm.
Quail.	Bátúr.		H.
Snipe.			
Red Teal.	Harowitch.		
Sparrow.	kantèr (<i>m</i>) Jsar <i>f</i>.	.....	H.
Chikor.		Strukpah.	H.
Magpie.		Küşhüp.	

INSECTS AND REPTILES— &c.

Ant.	Reh.	.....	bibli.
Bee, swarm.	Máshgün.	.....	gun.
Bug.	.....	.....	tsur.
Butterfly.	Pomper.	.....	papri.
Caterpillar.	.....	pütsabúrá.	lúri.
Centipede.	kunhèpin.	.....	shèutwal.
Earwig.	.....	.....	bourh.
Firefly.	Zuting.	.....	Dioli.
Flea.	Pish.	.....	prishù.
Fly.	mutch.	.....	H.
Frog.	Düd.	.....	mandoo.
Grasshopper.	.....	.....	tit.
Hornet.	Túter.		
Leech.	Drúkr.	.....	jok.
Lizard.	.....	.....	Hiluli.
Mosquitoe.	Moitch.	.....	H.
Scorpion.	Bich.		
Snake.	Surf gonda—gúnüs, <i>f</i> .		
Silk-worm.	Potkiom.		

<i>English.</i>	<i>Kashmiri.</i>	<i>Balti.</i>	<i>Remarks, Kishtwari, &c.</i>
„ chrysalis.	Potguti or guch.		
„ moth.	Pomper.		
„ eggs of.	Biole, lit. seed of.		
Spider.	Zuller garh.		
Tadpole.	Wátil Gad.		
Tick.	Chichiri.		
Worm.	kiom.		
Bumble-bee.	Búmbér.		
Snail.	kaingao.		

FRUITS AND GRAIN.

Apricot.	tsèrer.	Chúli.	H.
Apple.	Tsoont.	Kúshú	H.
Almond.	Bádum.	.....	H.
Grape.	Dütch.	újgun.	dakh.
Aniseed.			
Bran.	Kúsh.	.....	Kandú & shodh
Cherry (white.)	Glás.		
Do. (blackheart.)	Otchi.		
Barley.	Wúshkè.	nűs	H.
Greengage.	Eúre.		
Hazel nut.	Virièn.	.....	oormúnieor.
Indian corn.	Műkoi.	Kűtchúlichá	Kúkri.
Limes.	.....	.....	H.
Linseed.			
Melon (water.)	Hendwun.	.....	H.
Mulberry.	Tút.	osè	H.
Pear.	Tűng.	nieuti.	ali tung.
Plumb.	Ash otche.		
Peach.	Tsú.	.....	H.
Poppy seed.	Bűm.	.....	P.
Quince.	Bűm.		
Rice.	Dhan.	.....	H.
Do. (husked.)	Toműl.	.....	H.
Do. (boiled.)	Bhatűr (buttoo).	.....	rinia

<i>English.</i>	<i>Kashmiri.</i>	<i>Balti.</i>	<i>Remarks, Kishtwori, &c.</i>
Do. (chaff of.)	Toh.	.....	Shod.
Walnut.	Dúne.	stargah.	achole.
Water Lily. } Red Lotus. }	Pom Posh.	.....	none.
Eatable seeds } of ditto. }	Pom lokr.	.....	none.
Root of ditto.	Nudr.		
Wheat.	kúmikh.	kro.	P.
„ a pyramidal shaped grain. }	Tromber.	.....	Dran.
Singara nut.	Gayr.	.....	none.
Peas.	.....	pokstrun.	Krao.
the seed of do.	.....	strunma.	H.
the pod of do.	.....	isganboo.	
Ageet (dye.)	.....	tsút.	H.
a purple pum- elo on hills. }	.....	Gangpoondar.	
Melon (sweet.)	kúrbooz.		
Strawberry.	ingeroche.		
Morelle, a kind of toad-stool.	kundgútch.		

NATURAL OBJECTS, PHENOMENA.

a descent.	.....	.....	oorwali.
Bank of a river.	Bhút.	Chúsna.	
Bog.	Numbul.	.....
Brook.	Khol, Ará.	r Yamtso (tsun- tsè) little.	gud
Cave.	Gop.	.....	gal.
Cliff.	Chumb.	.....	mutti Kurwali.
Comet.	Lèt dhar tarook.	skarmah-zhuk- ring, (behind long.)	
Dale or valley.	Nai.	.....	nali.
Forest.	Wan.	Bow. Hind.	H.
Fissure in ice.	Hoi.	sezgah.	
Glacier.	Günj, Tilkütr.	Ganse-Gang.	sorh.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Kashmiri.</i>	<i>Balti.</i>	<i>Remarks Kishtwori, &c.</i>
Hill, mountain.	Bál	Rhi, peak high, dong-tonmur. rhi, Peak low.	
Island.	dhaim.	tok.	
Lake.	Sur.	Tso	H.
Moon.	Zún.	T. Sok.	H.
Do. new.	tsünder.		
Pass.	Gul.	La-Luggo.	gulli.
Spring.	Nag.	chú mikh.	nag.
Star.	tarook.	skurmah.	H.
Sun.	Aktab, Doh.	doh kool, rising. doh loos-nima, setting.	Dise.
Stone.	Koin.	r doah.	gorh.
Tree	Kúl.	.....	búth.
Wind.	Wao-push.	Klung.	báth
Wood.	Zieune.	shing.	tsoria.
Quicksand.	.....	Bia tsup.	
Air	Wan.	.....	chonkar.
Water fall.	pausader.	Chúpiar.	
Rain.	nai (in Wurdwan).	thl Tong.	city.
Cloud.	Oboor.	Múnpah (mun mah.)	H.
Dawn.	.....	.....	rot biani gya.
Dew.	Lauè.	.....	trèli.
Eclipse.	Gránmüt.	Rás.	H.
Fire.	Túngl-nar.	mèh. à	H.
Flame.	Reh.		
Fog.			
Frost.	soor dog.	Báughno.	kukr.
Hail.	Doat.	Zerburuse, Zer- buroze.	hushn.
Ice.	Yukh.	Ganse.	sorh.
Lightning.	Woozmul.	Trut, that that strikes—Brúk tsurk.	
Rain.	Rood.	Numker (out falls).	rodh.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Kashmiri.</i>	<i>Balti.</i>	<i>Remarks, Kishtwari, &c.</i>
Rainbow.	Ram Ram Bhún.	Tser.	Ram Dhun.
Rainy season.	.....	.....	H.
Smoke.	Dú.	Tutpah.	Dhūm.
Snow.	shín.	Káh.	shin and Him.
Thunder.	Gugrari.	Bosut.	gulkutha.
Avalanche.	.....	Rút.	Himán.
Ashes.	soor.	.....	booi.
Water.	... ..	choo. ཇོ	H.
River.	.....	r Yamtso.	H.
Heavens.	.....	khnum.	ambur.
Earth (quake).	.....	Tseh—tsa-gúl.	
Valley.	.....	Loombah Brok.	
Chaugau.	.....	Shagrun.	
a mat roof.	wüggoo.		
Arch.	.....	.....	none.
Boat.	nau-Dúnga.	Báhtz—naiyo.	none.
Brick.	seèri.	bakboo.	H.
Do. kiln.	.....	.....	awur.
Bridge.	kudl.	Zamba.	H.
Custom-house.	gúzürwan jagati.	Lampa.	H.
Ferry.	kurnau.	.....	H.
Fort (Bastion.)	killee.	khurh Piu.	H.
Ghaut.	yárbul.	.....	H.
Granary	koot.	.....	Deense.
„ of bees.	maush gūn.	.....	gūn.
House.	Lurhi, nūns.	nang.	H.
Tool.			
Lime kiln.	.....	.....	pūtti.
Mine.	Cop.	same as Deu,	
		cave.	
Embankment.			
A necessary.			
Road.	Wát.	fr. Bál-Saus.—	
		lam ལམ	Bath.
Shop.	Wán.	.....	hutti P.
Village.	Gam.	jong.	H.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Kashmiri.</i>	<i>Balti.</i>	<i>Remarks, Kishtwari, &c.</i>
Wall.	Dos.	angun.	
Flagstaff.	Alum.		
Rope Bridge.	zampa.	chúg zung.	kherh.
COLORS.			
Black.	krúhún.	Napo.	H.
Blue.	.....	súünpo.	H.
Brown.	Toos.	khodrüng.	H.
Light brown.	Badami.	.....	H.
Green.	Zunger.	tse rung.	H.
Red.	Wuzl.	Mapo.	H.
Yellow.	.....	Tserpo.	H.
White.	Chut.	Karpo.	H.
METALS, &c.			
Iron.	.....	chüks.	H.
Brass.	Sartal.	Bremarús.	H.
Gold.	.....	ser.	H.
Silver.	.....	khmúl.	H.
Copper.	.....	zangz.	H.
Bismuth.	.....	Tsullè.	
Bronze.			
Tin.	.....	.....	none.
Lead,	.....	moordo.	yarsoo.
VEGETABLES &c.			
Root.	Moule.	.....	Zil.
Leaf.	Pan.	.....	H.
Fruit.	mewur.	.....	H.
Bark.	.....	.....	shiker.
Blossom.	posh.	.....	H.
Beans.			
Brinjal.			
Cabbage.	krüm,	.....	kurm.
Chillies.	müritch wangün.	.....	pipli.
Cucumber.	.....	.....	H.
Fern.			
Garlic.			
Gourd,	kasheri alèr.		

<i>English.</i>	<i>Kashmiri.</i>	<i>Balti.</i>	<i>Remarks, Kishtwari, &c.</i>
Gram.	.....	.....	H.
Mushroom.	Hendor.	.....	none.
Mustard.	Tilgogul-Súnzer.	.....	shūria.
Onion.	perau.	Tsong.	H.
Peas.	kūrrer.		
Radish.	Múji.	.....	H.
Tomata.	Oor wangūn.		
Turnip.	Gogagi.	.....	tukm.
Kuddoo.	Alèr.		
Baugun.	Wangūn.	.....	būthè.

DISEASES.

Abscess or Boil.	Phepher.	mendok.	phimi.
Ague.	.....	dūrboo.	sheeth.
Cholera.	tupaile.	chús.	daki see vomì.
Cough.	tzás.	coughz.	khung.
Dysentery.	Duster.	chús.	
Fever.	Zál.	tap.	táo.
Gonorrhoea.	.....	.....	rogh.
Hiccough.	Hikh.	oph.	hiki.
Insanity.	.....	skaumet.	tsul.
Itch, itching.	kushun.	kúoh.	kashan.
Leprosy.	... ..	shipiri.	H.
Freckles.	Müchtedji.	.....	jogūn.
Rheumatism.	.....	klúng.	
Small Pox.	Shitül.	.....	H.
Do. (the mark	Shitül ok. of.)	.....	H.
Vomiting.	kai.	Sun ma net.	daki.
Wart.	.....	.....	mushwu.
Wound.	.....	makha.	H.

FEASTS, &c.

after 90 days.

Nao roj.

till 90 days. r Bier hūn kùn.

the next 90 days. assüt.

{ about 1st Augt. River Indus
is at it highest about this
time.

— 90 „ mēzau.

*English.**Kashmiri.**Balti. Remarks, Kishtwari, &c.*

TOOLS, IMPLEMENTS, &c.

Adze.	Tor.	Stew.	tongra.
Anvil.	Yèrūn.	Twá.	árūn.
Axe.	mūkkūz.	Tsèrè.	H.
Basket.	Phote and puthdúr. kari.		H.
Comb.	kūngain, for women. kūngo, for men.		H.
File.	Phárowar.	.....	áwai.
Saw.	Littler.	arah.	H.
Harrow.	.....	.....	dah.
Hoe.	Rumbè.	chiukse.	gúnderi.
Hone.	Billo.	o derh.	pulli.
Knife.	Shrák.	Gri.	H.
Ladder.	Hare.	.....	H.
Loom.	Dhor.	Tūsgūn.	kūddi.
Mould.	kálib.	.....	kūlboot.
Needle.	Sūtz sūn.	kūp.	sūnhau.
Oil Press.	Lilwein tsok.	.....	kolū.
Pincers.	Shirūnj.	.....	útser.
Plough.	hulbain.	Tawit.	H.
Razor.	khore.	Go brokti gri, lit. chore.	
		head shaving	
		knife.	
Scissors.	mekraz, dukore.	Dugar.	dúkhri.
Scabbard.	káti.	shúp.	H.
Sickle. } Drauti. }	Drought.	Zorbah.	Dranti.
Spade.	Liwūn.	.....	Bungori.
Thimble.	nyit.	Tsen shúp.	H.
Umbrella.	Tapdan.	Nien tzúne.	chūtri.
Wedge.	.....	.....	putti.
Yoke.	Yipūt.	.....	jun.
Oar.	khoor.	.....	none.
Rope.	.....	Thūkpa.	Raz.
Flute.	nai.	piathling.	bensri.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Kashmiri.</i>	<i>Balti.</i>	<i>Remarks, Kishtwari, &c.</i>
Hammer.	Dokker.	Tükchoong.	hathora.
Flint and steel.	chümük.	rúnka.
Charcoal.	Tsulbah.	angar.
Bellows.	Zwúpah.	
the melting spoon used by sonars.	Lüşkonsh.	
Raft of skins.	Zükhse.	
Large scissors used by sonars.	Angútzhè.	
Drill (Balti).	Tsoras girri.	
Khilta, a basket caried on back.	chirong.	khara.
The ropes of do.	thukpah. ཐུག་པ་	kutchá.
Trumpet.	Sunah.	H.
Rake.	Brashing.	
A thrashing spot khal. for the bul- locks to walk round.	kieule.	khül.
The pole in the centre of.	kieule shing.	
Sling.	Horhdo.	{ none is used in Kashmir.

APPAREL, ORNAMENTS, &c.

Bracelet.	kor.	küngñ.	
Cap.	.....	Nuting.	{ made of cotton cloth, Taki.
Coat.	.....	Gonmo.	H.
Gloves.	.....	Lukshoop.	H.
Handkerchief.	athè dudge.	.....	H.
Ring.	Warj.	surúp.	H.
Churi (small Búnger. bracelet.)		odú.	H.
The long Kash- Phèrun. mir coat, both men's and women's.			

<i>English.</i>	<i>Kashmiri.</i>	<i>Balti.</i>	<i>Remarks, Kishtwari, &c.</i>
The long sleeves to the women's coats.	koraba.		
Embroidered cap.	Orukh chin.		
The red head- band worn by the women.	kasaba.		
A stone with in- scription worn round the neck for grief on the departure of a friend.	Húll, dale.		
The chain orna- ment from the centre of fore- head to the ears.	Damin.		
Earring.	Kunè wuj.	.....	H.
Ladak shoes.	.....	Múshúk, pūbboo.	
Ornament worn on the should- ers by the Brokpah wo- men.	.....	Mellong.	
Broach.	naug chúngo.		

THE MONTHS.

January.

February.

March.

April.

May.

June.

July.

August.

.....

Matum.

September.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Kashmiri.</i>	<i>Balti.</i>	<i>Remarks, Kishtwari, &c</i>
October.			
November.			
December.			

DAYS OF THE WEEK.

Sunday.	Atwar.	Adi.	Ayth.
Monday.	Sonderwar.	Tsundral.	Asunder.
Tuesday.	Baunwar.	angáru.	Manguli.
Wednesday.	Bodwar.	Bodú.	Bodi.
Thursday.	Breswar.	Brespút.	Brèbut.
Friday.	Júma.	Shúgürü.	Shúker.
Saturday.	Bütwar.	Shinshèr.	Süncher.

DIVISIONS OF TIME.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Kashmiri.</i>	<i>Kishtwari.</i>	<i>Balti.</i>
Afternoon.			
Day.	Doh.	Di.	Chik-Zak.
Daybreak.		búraotera.	Nimasher (sunrise.)
To-day.	ādj.	az.	Dring ཅ་རྩ་
To-morrow.	pügga.	kalè.	Haské giukpa.
Day aftermorrow.	koilket.	treusè.	Snüng.
4th day.		.....	..... atses.
Yesterday.	yown.	hiü.	
Day before yester- day.	autera.	hoterm.	
Evening.	kofütñ.	bialè.	Sham.
Midday.	pishün.	H.	pishine.
Midnight.	adhi rat.	adhrätha.	Sünpet.
Moment.		H.	Same as Hind.
Morning.	Subhün.	otera.	Giükspa, giokhpat.
Night.	rat.	H.	same as Hind. tsün.
Week.		ath-di.	ab Dhum.
Year.	wèri.	büri.	Lôkhor.
16 days.	pütch.		
10 o'clock A. M.			Muea thuse.
Month.		H.	Za.
3rd day in ad- vance.		tsotè.	

English. Kashmiri. Balti. Kishtwari, Remarks, &c.

MISCELLANEOUS NOUNS.

Abuse.	Leker.	kh Mun mo.	H.
Account.	hisab.	Same as Hind.	sitsi. lèker.
Act.			
Affair.	kār.		H.
Animal.	Jānāwār.	Beil song.	H.
Ball.	Gūile.	polo.	H.
Beak, bill.	Tonth.	kūmchū.	H.
Bit.		Strūp.	H.
Border.	kināre.	tangna.	kundèt.
Breakfast.	Nihère, koj.	Gios, pi, zan.	kūtūwar.
Bridle.	Lākūm.	Gothūr.	
Bundle.	Guth ther.	Būskia.	būchka.
Burden.	Bore.	kūr.	H.
Buying & selling.	Hyūn to kunnūn.		H.
Change.	Soink.		biāje.
Coffin.	Sabood.	chirgos.	H.
Cost-price.	Mol.	Tsām.	H.
Ear of corn.	kunuk kihūl.		Sila.
Kernel.	Goji.	r. Tsoo.	of walnut, Mūgrū; of apricot, gūli.
Pod.	Hembě.	H.	Shimi.
Seed.	Biolo.		
Sheaf.	Loire.	the large, chūb, the small, kūshū.	
A well for grain.	.....	deeūs.	
Point.	pieut	Tsonse.	
Thorn.	konde.	kanto.	Tsook.
Wood.	Zieūn.	tsori.	Tsing, shing.
Marriage.	Niètr.	H.	Bakstūn.
Thief.	Tsoor.	H.	kierkūn.
Wages.	Maujūb.	chimain.	Niakhta.
Depth.	Sone.	gath.	Khomboo.
Dinner.	khyūn.	H.	Gon phini zan.
Dust.	Lütz.	gūtta.	l. Dum l. dum.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Kashmiri.</i>	<i>Balti.</i>	<i>Kishtwari, Remarks, &c.</i>
Dung made up into cakes for burning.	Loor.	Not made into balls.	shlung.
Edge of sword.	Dār.	H.	Kussers.
Back of do.		H.	Tukspar.
Excrement.	Gūs.	H.	
Filth.	Mul.	H.	
Garland.	Māl.	H.	turmah.
Height.	Tuzzer.	kūrwali.	tonmoh.
Hem.	Pujirūn.	gèra.	tulli.
Lie.	Apas.	H.	zons.
Life.	Zū.	H.	strok.
Light.	Gāsh.	prugra.	sang.
Name.	Nas.	H.	ming.
Necklace.	hutèphūt.	The long kind, treminian.	phullooo.
Neighbour.	Humsai.	gowandi.	Hind.
Lodger, <i>a liver</i> <i>in a house.</i>	Wāngūj.	būswala.	
Noise.	Krèk.	H.	Skūt.
Plank.	Pūtchi.	pūkher.	
Purse, or small bag.	Sozheure.	basni.	
Large bag.	Gotz.	H.	
Rust.	Khaī.	H.	khyar.
Scent (bad).	Phak.	H.	Sri.
Shade	Shūnl.	tun Dowar.	junphuk.
Shell (bivalve).	Kaw shup.		
Snail.		garèli.	
Snuff.	Nast.	H.	Naswars (Hind.).
Song.	Giouwan.	H. (thlieu.)	by women, heure wunensūn. Kash.
Span.	Pau.	grit.	chūbjhie kruksun,
Square.	Ssokūnjul.		
Stick.	Lour.	dhèsi.	
Summit.	tèn toll.	H.	
Tail.	Lote.	lènhun.	zhin doh.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Kashmiri.</i>	<i>Balti.</i>	<i>Kishtwari, Remarks, &c.</i>
Thread.	Pāu.	Daga.	skut puh.
Double.	Dow.	Bute da daga.	
Torch of pine wood.	Lūshè.	Lūshi	
Width.	Khol, küdjëra.	billi.	phülchün.
Yolk of an egg.	Zün, Korgieu.	Nuldia.	marpo, lit. yellow.
Luncheon.	.....	.....	fri zün.
Saddle.	.....	Kati H.	izgäh.
Stirrup.	.....	H.	Epchün.
Whip.	.....	Korara.	Thür.
Martingale.	.....	.....	Blantük.
Gülël.	Reenz.	H.	Liaug gong.
Bow.	.....	H. Dhaon.	Zhū
Arrow.	.....	H.	Dah.
Grave.	.....	.....	Müzer.

NAMES OF TREES, &c.

Tree.	Kül & Küdge.		
Bokine.	Drèk.		
Rose.	P.	meudok	H.
Walnut.	Dhünkül.	.....	H.
Poplar.	Prüsth kül.		
Apricot.	Tsèr kül.		H.
Birch.	Boorjè kül.		
Pinus longifolia.	Khyer.		
Horse chesnut.	Wun dhün.		
Elm.	Bren.		
Willow.	Wheer.		
Plane.	Booin.		
Pear.	Tang kül and nāk kül.		
Apple.	Tsoont küdge.		
Mulberry.	Tül kül.		
Almond.	Badüm kul.		
Cherry (white hard.)	Glass kul.		
Pomegranate.	Dharn kul.		
Vine.	Dutchiranth.		

English. Kashmiri. Balti. Kishtwari, Remarks, &c.

MISCELLANEOUS ADJECTIVES.

Above.	.....	Kure.	
Aged.	Pūrone.	H.	Snīngmah.
Alone.	Kūnezun.	H.	
Angry.	Tsāk.	nosh.	Kaunse.
Bad.	yetch.	kutchā.	shishik.
Best.	Sarè kote jān.	roli.	
Big.	Bod.	H.	Chogo.
Bitter.	Tieut.	ambūl.	
Black.	Krihūn.	H.	
Blind.	one.	H.	"Kone," blind of one eye, gserbah.
Blue.	meul.	H.	
Blunt.	monde.	moger	
Cheap.	Log.	H.	Eūntsè.
Clean.	Jaf.	H.	same as Hind. kūrpo.
Cold.	tūrn.	H.	
Crazy.	matūmūt.		
Cross.			
Dark.	Airogūto.	andero.	
Deaf.	Zor.	zerro.	Ghūt.
Dear.	Drog.	H.	Inotpo.
Dear.	Fort.	nayr.	
Deep.	Sone.	.....	Ghūlong.
Dirty.	mūlūn.	H.	Trima.
Dizzy.	Gieūr.	gèra.	
Dry.	Hok.	.....	H.
Dumb.	Kot.	.....	lūtter.
Easy.	Sahul.	.....	H.
Empty.	Chonè.	.....	binghi.
Every.	Herks.	.....	H.
Exact.	.....	.....	H.
Few.	Maunè.	.....	H.
Fine (like flour.)	Zaiwūl.	.....	P.
Firm.	Dūrh.	.....	P.
Fit.			

<i>English.</i>	<i>Kashmiri.</i>	<i>Balti.</i>	<i>Kishtwari, Remarks, &c.</i>
Flat.	.....	"Pudri" in hills near Kishtwa.	
Good.	Jān-wāri	.....	rola.
Hard.	Dūrh.	.....	P.
Heavy.	Gob.	Cho.	H.
High.	Jodh.	Thūnmo.	
Lame.	Longue.	.....	tonta.
Last.	Poth.	.....	pūtta.
Late.	.....	.....	tūdha.
Lazy.	Shūst.	.....	hul, hak.
Lean.	Tūn.	.....	H.
Least.	Sarè kot lokut.		
Left.	Khown.	.....	H.
Light.	Gash.		
Light(in weight.)	Lūt.	Yāmo.	lokf.
Long.	Zieut.	ringmo.	H.
Loose.	Dieul.	.....	H.
Low.	Kūmih tode.	lit. little high.	urè.
Many.	Sutta.	.....	P.
Moist.	Oder.	.....	aderi.
Near.	Nizeek.	nè more.	P.
New.	No.	.....	H. nawè P.
Next.			
Old.	puraun.	.....	H.
Pure.	Shütz,	When water is very pure. nitlolusha:	nirbel.
Rapid, quick.	Tikan.	.....
Raw.	Aum.	.....	H.
Red.	Wūzūl.	.....	H.
Right (hand.)	Dutchen.	.....	H.
Right.	Poz.	.....	H.
Same.	Barabud.	.....	H.
Short.	Tsot.	.....	H.
Slow.	Lūt.	.....	lokè.
Sly.	.....	.....	H.
Small.	Lokūt.	Tsūntsè.	H.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Kashmiri.</i>	<i>Balti.</i>	<i>Kishtwari, Remarks, &c.</i>
Sour.	Tsok.	.....	H.
Stiff.	Dürh.	.....	H. P.
Stagnant.	Heunür.		
Sweet.	Mieut, modur.	.....	H.
Tall.	Zieul.		
Steep.	.....	.....	kurwali.
Near.	.....	nèmore.	
Thick.	Vieut.	.....	thoola.
Thin.	Thow, zaical.		
Warm.	Gürm.	.....	Tutta P.
Weary.	Loos.	Klüt.	hulpak.
Wet.	odür.	.....	aderi.
White.	Chot.	.....	Chiter P.
Wise.	Dana.	.....	H. Siaua.
Handsome.	.....	Güşa.	rola.
Ugly.	.....	Shishik.	asüngo.
Broad.	.....	phülpo.	
Enough (bus.)	.....	Tsüt.	H.
Far.	.....	taring.	H.
With.	.....	chük.	H.
Of.	.....	i like in Persian.	
By, from.	.....	eyna.	
To.	.....	la.	
In.	müüz.	bing.	
Into.	.....	na muru, skil.	H.
Upon.	.....	tok tu.	purh.
Above.	.....	Goma.	
Below.	.....	Gomba.	ordi.
I.	ba.	nga.	aon.
Thou.	.....	kiang.	tuí.
He.	.....	lo.	uh.
We.	.....	.....	aon.
Ye.	.....	yang.	tu.
They.			
To me.	mènusè.	Kong, èong.	uh.
Hot like pepper.	.....	.....	Tutta.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Kashmiri.</i>	<i>Balti.</i>	<i>Kishtwari, Remarks, &c.</i>
Who.	kous.		
Mine.	miown.		
Up hill ascent.	küssün.		
Down hill descent.	wüssün.		
Mine, of me.	maini-maino.		
Yours, of you.	túni.		
To me.	mi.		
From me.	aonda.		

VERBS.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Kashmiri.</i>	<i>Balti.</i>	
Come.	Infin. wulsè	ong.	
Go.	gütz.	tsong.	
Bring.	au.	khiong.	
Take away.	heth gütz.	kerh.	
Take hold.	nütheu.	ching.	
Give.	diss.	min.	
Get away.	.....	loksa song.	
Speak.	dèpeo.	zerh.	
Put.	thao.	yok (hard).	
Make.	.....	biose.	
Wipe.	.....	trut.	
Sew.	.....	trüp.	
		tzün set.	leg gia.
Sing.	.....	tong.	

NUMERALS.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Balti.</i>	<i>Kashmiri.</i>	<i>Ladaki.</i>
1	chick.	ak.	
2	nis.	zū.	
3	jsüm.	trè.	
4	bijhi.	tsore.	
5	ghña.	panse.	..... lña.
6	jruk.	shè.	
7	ābdhūn.	sat.	
8	ab ghiet.	ought.	
9	r goo.	nau.	

<i>English.</i>	<i>Kashmiri.</i>	<i>Balti.</i>	<i>Remarks, Kishtwari, &c.</i>
10	chu.	dah.	
11	chūschick.	kah.	
12	chūnus.	bah.	
13	chūksūm.	trèwah.	
14	chūgjie.	tsodah.	
15	chūga.	pandah.	
16	chūrūk.	shorah.	
17	chūkdūn.	satdah.	
18	chughiet.	ardah.	
19	churgoo.	kūnwuh.	
20	nishoo.	wūh.	
21	nishoo chick.	ak wūh.	
22	nishoo nis.	zū towūk.	
23	nishoo Tsūm.	tro wuh.	
24	&c.	tso wuh.	
25	&c.	poon tso.	
26	.....	shè wuh.	
27	.....	sata wuh.	
28	.....	ato wuh.	
29	.....	kūno tru.	
30	.....	trū.	
40	nishoo nis.	tso wuh.	
50	ghabchū.	pausa.	
60	nishoo tsūm.	shèth.	
70	abdūm choo.		
80	nichoo jhi.		
90	r goop chu.		
100	abgya.	hath.	
1000	stonchick.	sās.	
1st.	gopa.	godmieuk.	
2nd.	gopi shūl.	do yūm.	
3rd.	skilpa.	trè yūm.	
4th.	jhupa.	tsū yūm.	
RELATIONSHIP.			
Father.	Atah.	Bab-maul.	Bab.
Mother.	Aoigo.	mauj.	Mali.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Kashmiri.</i>	<i>Balti.</i>	<i>Kishtwari, Remarks, &c.</i>
Brother.	Ming mo.	Boy.	H.
Sister.	String mo.	Bhènyè.	H.
Grandfather.	Apo.	Bod bab.	
Grandmother.	Api.	nain.	
Great grand- father.	Nespo.	.....	Purdada.
Great grand- mother.	Assi.		
Uncle, } father's	Atah tsūnstè.	pitr.	H.
Aunt, } side.	Ango tsūnstè.	pope.	
Uncle, } mother's	Momo.	mama.	Masi H.
Aunt, } side.	Nènè.	mos.	
Cousin, father's side.			
Cousin, mother's side.			
Brother-in-law.			
Sister-in-law.			
Daughter.	.....	.....	Kuri.
Son.	.....	.....	Mutter.

<i>Hindustani.</i>	<i>English.</i>	<i>Kashmiri.</i>
Adim.	man.	mauneo.
Awràt.	woman.	zenanah.
Lurka.	boy.	netchu.
Lurki.	girl.	koor.
Ghorah.	horse.	goorh.
Bukerie.	goat.	tsawitch.
Gudda.	donkey.	kher.
Bungala.	ditto.	lerh, nuno.
Pahar.	mountain.	koh.
Kishtee.	boat.	nāo.
Pani.	water.	tresh.
Ag.	fire.	tongue.
Burf.	snow.	sheen.
Tunda.	cold.	tur.
Gurm.	hot.	gurm.

<i>Hindustani.</i>	<i>English.</i>	<i>Kashmiri.</i>
Hawa.	wind.	wās, push.
Menth.	rain.	rōōd.
Durwaza.	door.	birh.
Khana.	food.	kyūn.
Mukkun.	butter.	thein.
Dud.	milk.	dōud.
Lukerie.	wood.	dtzun.
Gosht.	meat.	marz.
Sir.	head.	kulla.
Ankh.	eye.	outch.
Nākh.	nose.	nust.
Mou.	mouth.	bhut
Jebh.	tongue.	zeān.
Dant.	tooth.	daud.
Hath.	hand.	hathé.
Gulla.	neck.	hoth.
Honth.	lip.	wooth.
Bāl.	hair.	must.
Murghi.	fowl.	kokr.
Undea.	egg.	tool.
Miseri.	sugar.	mishere.
Ata.	flour.	ought.
Choul.	rice.	tomul.
Bhat.	rice, boiled.	buttoo.
Lussi.	butter milk.	gūrus.
Guncher.	name of a fruit growing on the Burhan hill.	
Burton.	dishes.	bān.
Chūt.	roof.	wuggoo.
Derkhut.	tree.	kūl and kūdge.
Bhains.	buffaloe.	mārsh.
Poule.	bridge.	kuddle.
Rasta.	road.	wath.
Puttur.	stones on a road.	kyēm.
Toro.	break.	zāmun.
Samuk.	snail.	kaingao.

<i>Hindustani.</i>	<i>English.</i>	<i>Kashmiri.</i>
Tokri.	basket.	puthur.
Phūl.	flower.	posh.
Atcha.	good.	jan wari.
Karab.	bad.	weh.
Mota.	fat.	orqut.
Putla.	thin.	thin zaiwul.
Kutta.	sour.	tsak.
Chota.	small.	lokut.
Burra.	large.	boddur.
Ghaira.	deep.	sún.
Uterai, chiraī.	.....	wassun, kussun.
Lal.	red.	wuzl.
Kala.	black.	kzoohum.
Sufed.	white.	chuth.
Subz.	green.	subz.
Nila.	blue.	niewl.
Tang.	narrow.	tzoom.
Upur.	above.	nure.
Nechi.	below.	bhim.

NAMES OF TREES.

Chir.	<i>Khyer.</i>
Horse Chesnut.	Wun dhun.
Um.	Bren.
Strawberry.	ingeroche.

ba chusus laiyun.	hum marté hyn.
ba sa qutzo.	hum jaté hyn.
ba sa chus.	hum hy.
kous sa chus.	kon hy ?
wulza ! tikāus.	juldi ou !
kyasa kom ché ?	kya kam hy ?
tzor rupeiya wusme.	chahor rupeya udā dō.
menus é chemina.	hum ko nahin hy.
meown pyala anso.	humara pyala lao.
ānsō ! tikan.	lao ! juldi.
antisa ?	layā hy ?

chā dissa tikāu.	cha do juldi.
Hūtso.	lé lo.
Thrésh chëso.	Pani peeo.
myoun kât bozen.	humara bat sunno.
kya suzā.	whas faule.
wūtzo.	utao.
dūpsa.	bolo.
bè diesah.	aur do.
eu dissah.	idher do.
bé ne sa chuna.	aur nahin hy.

Pani menh barasta.	rood wálan.
„ barasa.	„ walen.
„ barasenge.	„ pugga walèn.
„ barasna Im.	„ wal

marna.	
marta.	loyun.
mara.	am loynum.
marenge.	pussa laye.
maro.	lāyus.

jana.	
jata.	güssun.
gya.	gao.
jaenga.	pugsa gütza.
jao.	gütz.

bolo.	wanus.
bolta.	wanan.
bola.	wonum.
bolenga.	wünnüs.

rukho.	thas.
rukhta.	tawun.
rukha.	thawüm.
rukhèngì.	thanwa.

*Hindustani.**Kashmiri.*

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Kit na beehta seb? | Kutz kan auzu isoōut? |
| 2. Ab tum kahan se ata hy? | Whin zu kate pet āk? |
| 3. Hum Kashmere se ata hy. | Ba Kashere peta ās. |
| 4. Us killa men kya hy? | That Viltatus audur kyachu? |
| 5. Ab kahan jate ho? | Whim kotzu gutzuk? |
| 6. Kurra raho, seb dekhlo. | Wuddeni roj tsoont hāo. |
| 7. Yih sub kràb hogya. | Yhim sāra yeteh qyee. |
| 8. Hum denge rupee 100. | Bāh demai rupee hath. |
| 9. Tumara nam kya hy? | Cheun nāow kya chu? |
| 10. Idher ou. | Yuree wul. |
| 11. Wahan jao. | Hoar gutz. Pronounced after Yoar. |
| 12. Wahan āo. | Hoar wullo. |
| 13. Humko bosa do. | Moein dunzè. |
| 14. Under lao juldi gaong se. | Tool ān, tikān gāmen. |
| 15. Hum léaungen. | Bāh āney. |
| 16. Is gaong men, gosht milta hy. | Yet gamus munz marz chè mēlen. |
| 17. Kitna dam hy? | Kot or kota mol chi? |
| 18. Tum hy burra jut wallah. | Tzu chuk bōd assas zor. |
| 19. Hum itna dam nahin dengén. | Bā eut mol demai nè. |
| 20. Kuffer mut jao. | Kuffur ma gutz. |
| 21. Dhoop bāhoot gurm hy. | Tāp jutta gurum chu. |
| 22. Hum bolta thoré. | Ba chus koshere bolen bumanni. |
| 23. Ab hum sikta hyn. | Whim ba koshere hes chir chus. |
| 24. Ag jalao, cha banao. | Nar zaloo chaè karo. |
| 25. Kitna dur hy Srinugger? | Kōta chu dur bod sher? |
| 26. Kishti kyncho juldi. | Nās pukno tikan. |
| 27. Isturf kuch shikār? | Yet kin kya shikar? |
| 28. Purdah utāo. | Purdah tulso. |
| 29. Wuh pind kya nam hy? | Wuth gamus kya chu nā? |
| 30. Yih pergunnah kya nam hy? | Yet pergunnus kya chu nā? |
| 31. Us pind men kitna ghar hy? | Wuth gamus kutz muns che? |
| 32. Dereow ke par. | Dereon apār. |
| 33. Rusta atcha hy ki nahin? | Wuth che jān ki nah? |
| 34. Us pahar tuluk rusta chungā hy? | Kohus tul wāth cha jān? |
| 35. Us se lè lo lui. | Um, is nishè hè tsāder. |

36. Hum kul nishān ko jaengèn. Ba gutzo pugga nishames pet.
 37. Tum kul gyà nishān ko. Zu yo gya nishames pet.
 38. Us ko do 3 pice. Hum is di trè pice.
 39. Wuh admi aur nahin milenga. Humus mauneo mèleu nè bè.
 40. Stand is jugah per rukho. Yeth jāe pet māu stand.
 41. Sidha nahin hy. Seud chu nè.
 42. Zara is taruf, zara ūs taruf. Yeth kun bèhun yè porkun be hun.
 43. Ab atcha ho gya. Whin go jān.
 44. Us turuf jas dekho ke nishan Hutut gutz wutch nishan chenuze-
 nuzr āta ke nahin. rey i kin nay.
 45. Is dereon men bahut pani hy, Yeth dereowus muns setta āb chus
 kahan us par lungègen. kut kin terow āpor.
 46. Kitna chaul bāki hy? Kota chu bè tomul?
 47. Annah ko kitna dèta. Kut di kāumes.
 48. Iṣa juth muth mut kaho. Yeutn apas mapas mè wun.
 49. "Jemāl me" ath seer tomol Jemāl nur ath seer tomul meulis.
 mila.
 50. Wuh sirf 3 sir mila. Fakut mèlis trè dir.
 51. Wuh admi kyun rota hy? Ho mauneo kya zè wuddān?
 52. Kissè shuks ne uskè lui lè gya. Kumtain shuks umsams nee yè
 tsadur.
 53. Yih lukerie bigi nay julta. Zun che odōr duzān chu neu.
 54. Yih lukerie sukhi julta. Yè zeun chè huk duzān.
 55. Is ghar khūb būna hūa. Yeth ghrus zubr chè lodmut.
 56. Das burus hua. Dah whèri gyi.
 57. Wazier zerawur hukm dya, tub Wazier j hukm dit mok tun adgo
 sadak ko gya, aur wahan mar sadak ad zunuk tata marut.
 dala tha.
 58. Hum log Kashmir se aya Asigyi Kashiri am tin go zu ryut
 12 din. bah doh.
 59. Deres lung jata hum log ko. Asi luge ak doh apoe tūrienus.
 60. Kanah pukka hy, ki nahin? Khyun ronui ki, nè nay?
 61. Khana kabega. Khyun khèmau.
 62. Burtun lèjao. Bāu neh.
 63. Humara pyala lè yya. My oun pyāla nyun.
 64. Hum wahan jaengèn. Ba gūsi hore.
 65. Tum atcha hy. Zu chūk wārè.

66. Wùh do zenani wahan biti hy Gim zū zenani che biyet kūm
kon hy. che ?
67. Tum kyun nay hukm mante ? Zakon chuk hukm manau ?
68. Tum jate ? Za gusuk ?
69. Hum jate. Ma gūsè.
70. Aur kya chaye ? Bè kya gutzi ?
71. Aur bolo. Bè iwun.
72. Humare hath gurm hy ? Nugoem hāthè gurm chè ?
73. Agr tum awaj kurtè, log sunen-Agr zu krèk tūlūk, log bozen ;
gè ; chup kuro. sūp kr.
74. Lung koun awenge ? Sūt kūsèūm ?
75. Do manji nao lejao. Zu nauj ni sūt.
76. Utero kiste ko. Wussū nawè.
77. Tum nahin awenge. Za ik nè.
78. Burkha pahnèngè. Burkha aiman.
79. Idher hy phunsi. Qethè nūs chūm oeppor.
80. Anè janè dur. Ewūn gūsūn lūg dūr.
81. Bohat kujli ato. Sutter kūshun iwūn.
82. Beech jao. Munj pukku.
83. Barah pichi hy. Bah shè pūtta.
84. Dekho, wuh aurat kysa chulta. Wūtchu zinan kit pet pukkan.
85. Ghr per rukhunge. Lwu pet thauwun.
86. Kitna roj wahan rewhenge ? Kotzen dohen rojen thate ?
- 1½ seer = 1 munnut.
- 2 munnuts = 1 panzoo.
- 2 panzoos = 1 truck.
- 16 trucks = 1 kurwah.

NUMERALS.

1 ak.	10 dah.
2 zu.	11 kah.
3 tre.	12 bah.
4 tzor.	13 trouwah.
5 panch.	14 tzadah.
6 shéh.	15 pandah.
7 sat.	16 shewrah.
8 aughe.	17 suddah.
9 nau.	18 arдах.

19 kunoo.	29 kuntre.
20 wuh.	30 treu.
21 akwuh.	40 satagi.
22 zutuowuh.	50 panica.
23 trewuh.	60 sheth.
24 tzowuh.	70 satdu.
25 panchzu.	80 athdie.
26 shewuh.	90 naudie.
27 satawuh.	100 hath.
28 atawuh.	1000 sas.

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*Notes on Gupta Inscriptions from Aphasar and Behar.—*

*By Bábu RÁJENDRALÁLA MITRA.*

Some time ago Major General A. Cunningham placed at my disposal, for translation, the transcript of a Sanskrit inscription from Aphasar, in the Behar district. It had been made over to him by the late Major Markham Kittoe, who had brought away the original "to re-examine and to restore it as much as possible, before having it fixed on a pedestal near the Varáha in Aphasar,"\* but who, owing to ill-health and subsequent departure from India, could do neither. The original is no longer forthcoming. When General Cunningham enquired for it during his antiquarian tour in 1861-62, the people of Aphasar "were unanimous in stating that Major Kittoe had removed it to Nowáda for the purpose of copying it;" but no trace of it could be met with either at that place or Gya or Benares. The nature of the characters with which it was inscribed is not known, and, judging from the state of the transcript, it was not perfect, there being several lacunæ in the middle; but what remains of it in the transcript may be relied upon as authentic, having been prepared by Major Kittoe himself, whose thorough knowledge of Indian palæography is well known. The document has no date, but it is nevertheless of interest, as it supplies a list of Gupta sovereigns of Behar, hitherto unknown to antiquarians.

The first of this line of kings was Krishna Gupta. Nothing is said of where and when he reigned; but he is described as a man

\* Ante Vol. XXXII. p. xxxviii.

of noble lineage, great learning, and uncommon firmness of purpose. He was succeeded in his dominion successively by his son Hashka Gupta and grandson Jívita Gupta, both of whom, in the hyperbolic language of the poet, were mighty heroes. The son of Jívita was Kumára Gupta, who waged war against one Çánta Varmá, and of whom the only thing notable is, that he "entered into a fire of dried dung as in a sea." The panegyrist does not explain whether this was done as an act of religious suicide, or merely as a penance, a part of the rite called Panchatapá. His son Dámodara fought with the Western Hunas at a place called Maushari, but evidently only to be killed, for the poet euphuistically notices his fainting on the occasion, and subsequently reviving under the touch of heavenly nymphs. Where this Maushari was situated, I cannot make out; nor can I ascertain the *locale* of a river or sea named Lauhitya, on the bank or shore of which hermits sang in praise of the king's son Mahásena Gupta. The last, after reigning for some years, left his kingdom to his son Mádhava Gupta. A gap in the inscription here leaves it doubtful whether Hashka Gupta, the name which follows, is that of the son of Mádhava or of a mere successor; and some others in a lower part of the record have rendered a great portion of the praises bestowed on Aditya Sena, the son of Hashka, quite unintelligible. What remains is of the usual unmeaning type, "unrivalled heroism," "universal dominion" and the like, which probably existed nowhere but in the fertile imagination of the poet. Aditya was a follower of Vishṇu, and the document records the dedication, by him, of a temple to the idol of his adorations. It notices also that his mother Mahádeví built a monastery for the accommodation of pious hermits, and his wife Kona Deví, with a keener eye to general utility than was owned by her lord and mother-in-law, had a large tank excavated for the use of the public. The engraver of the document was Sukshma Siva.

The names of the several princes of the dynasty may be tabulated thus:—

- I. Kṛishṇa Gupta.
- II. Hashka Gupta, son of I.
- III. Jívita Gupta, son of II.
- IV. Kumára Gupta, son of III.
- V. Dámodara Gupta, son of IV.

VI. Mahásena Gupta, son of V.

VII. Mádhava Gupta, son of VI.

\* \* \* \* \*

VIII. Hashka Gupta, II. son of — ?

IX. Aditya Sena, son of VIII.

In the entire absence of data, it is impossible at present to determine the era of these princes, or the position they occupied in the history of ancient Magadha. There is nothing but the identity of the family name to justify the supposition that they were connected with the Guptas of the Bhitári Lát, but it is worthy of note that the latter, whose names are made familiar to us by coins and inscriptions found in Gházipur, Allahabad and Sánchi, did at one time extend their sway to Behar. The documents which enable me to make this assertion, are remarkable; they were found inscribed on a sandstone pillar lying in the Behar fort, and first brought to notice by Mr. E. L. Ravenshaw, in 1839. Mr. H. Torrens, then editor of this Journal, in publishing a translation of one of them, said, "I have now the pleasure of laying before the readers of the Journal a rendering of one of these (Behar) inscriptions as decyphered by Pundit Kamalá Kánta Vidyálañkára, and Bábu Hrambanáth. They succeeded in giving this interpretation after a great expense of time and labour. The characters are of a class not hitherto met with, and I confess I cannot submit this first attempt to interpret them, without considerable diffidence. The inscription is unfortunately destitute of both name and date, and does not, moreover, afford any clue by which the period of its record can be traced." According to the rendering published, the document contained a number of moral maxims, beginning with, "Be patient when angry. Perform religious sacrifices as prescribed. Be liberal in religious performances," &c., &c. The whole of this reading was, however, throughout imaginary, and the deductions made from it are, consequently, utterly worthless. Major C. Hollings noticed the inscriptions in 1860, and got a Pandit at Patna to decypher them for him. But his endeavours proved even less useful than the first. The worthy Pandit, in an elaborate translation, made out that the documents recorded the spot where king Jarásandha buried some fabulous amount of treasure which would be guarded by a dragon, until a European would come to bring it to light. The attempt

at imposition was so transparent in this instance, that it could not possibly be mistaken. Major Hollings, therefore, got a baked clay impression of the inscriptions prepared and sent to the Asiatic Society, in 1861. This at once showed that they were records of the Gupta sovereigns of Behar, and had nothing to do with moral maxims, or hidden treasure. An ink impression of the inscriptions was subsequently communicated to me by the Hon'ble Justice Sambhunáth Pandit. But it contained nothing that was not decypherable on the clay facsimile, and did not help me to add much to the tentative reading which I had already prepared. The accompanying plate is a reduced facsimile of the clay impression, and every letter on it has been carefully compared with those on the ink tracing. A copy of this plate was placed by me at the disposal of General Cunningham, and he had an opportunity of comparing it with the original during his Archæological Tour in 1861-62. The following is an extract from his report on the subject.

“One mile due east from the Dargâ, and about a hundred yards inside the northern gate of the old fort of Bihar, there lies a sandstone pillar which bears two separate inscriptions of the Gupta dynasty. Unfortunately the surface of the stone has peeled off considerably, so that both of the inscriptions are incomplete. The upper inscription, which is of Kumára Gupta, has lost both ends of every line, being probably about one-third of the whole. The lower inscription has lost only the left upper corner, and some unknown amount at the bottom, where the pillar is broken off. But as the remaining portion of the upper part is letter for letter the same as the opening of the Bhitari pillar inscription, nearly the whole of the missing part of the left upper corner can be restored at once. This record belongs to Skanda Gupta, the son and successor of Kumára Gupta.”

In the plate the upper inscription is numbered 1 and the lower one 2. The former extends to 13 lines and bears the name of Kumára Gupta whose eulogium it is perhaps intended to be. I say “perhaps” deliberately, for a large portion at the beginning of every line being lost, and it being impossible to give a connected translation, I cannot be certain that the record did not contain some other name which has now been lost. In the fourth line the word *Kavya* or “funeral cake” may refer to Kumára Gupta whose name occurs in the 3rd line, and the record

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पृथिवी

मह्य

१ २ ३





பிரதிபக்ஷம் = பககககக

தமிழ் எழுத்து

உருகிய நீர்

2785 2800 2815 2830 2845 2860 2875 2890 2905 2920 2935 2950 2965 2980 2995 3010 3025 3040 3055 3070 3085 3100 3115 3130 3145 3160 3175 3190 3205 3220 3235 3250 3265 3280 3295 3310 3325 3340 3355 3370 3385 3400 3415 3430 3445 3460 3475 3490 3505 3520 3535 3550 3565 3580 3595 3610 3625 3640 3655 3670 3685 3700 3715 3730 3745 3760 3775 3790 3805 3820 3835 3850 3865 3880 3895 3910 3925 3940 3955 3970 3985 4000 4015 4030 4045 4060 4075 4090 4105 4120 4135 4150 4165 4180 4195 4210 4225 4240 4255 4270 4285 4300 4315 4330 4345 4360 4375 4390 4405 4420 4435 4450 4465 4480 4495 4510 4525 4540 4555 4570 4585 4600 4615 4630 4645 4660 4675 4690 4705 4720 4735 4750 4765 4780 4795 4810 4825 4840 4855 4870 4885 4900 4915 4930 4945 4960 4975 4990 5005 5020 5035 5050 5065 5080 5095 5110 5125 5140 5155 5170 5185 5200 5215 5230 5245 5260 5275 5290 5305 5320 5335 5350 5365 5380 5395 5410 5425 5440 5455 5470 5485 5500 5515 5530 5545 5560 5575 5590 5605 5620 5635 5650 5665 5680 5695 5710 5725 5740 5755 5770 5785 5800 5815 5830 5845 5860 5875 5890 5905 5920 5935 5950 5965 5980 5995 6010 6025 6040 6055 6070 6085 6100 6115 6130 6145 6160 6175 6190 6205 6220 6235 6250 6265 6280 6295 6310 6325 6340 6355 6370 6385 6400 6415 6430 6445 6460 6475 6490 6505 6520 6535 6550 6565 6580 6595 6610 6625 6640 6655 6670 6685 6700 6715 6730 6745 6760 6775 6790 6805 6820 6835 6850 6865 6880 6895 6910 6925 6940 6955 6970 6985 7000 7015 7030 7045 7060 7075 7090 7105 7120 7135 7150 7165 7180 7195 7210 7225 7240 7255 7270 7285 7300 7315 7330 7345 7360 7375 7390 7405 7420 7435 7450 7465 7480 7495 7510 7525 7540 7555 7570 7585 7600 7615 7630 7645 7660 7675 7690 7705 7720 7735 7750 7765 7780 7795 7810 7825 7840 7855 7870 7885 7900 7915 7930 7945 7960 7975 7990 8005 8020 8035 8050 8065 8080 8095 8110 8125 8140 8155 8170 8185 8200 8215 8230 8245 8260 8275 8290 8305 8320 8335 8350 8365 8380 8395 8410 8425 8440 8455 8470 8485 8500 8515 8530 8545 8560 8575 8590 8605 8620 8635 8650 8665 8680 8695 8710 8725 8740 8755 8770 8785 8800 8815 8830 8845 8860 8875 8890 8905 8920 8935 8950 8965 8980 8995 9010 9025 9040 9055 9070 9085 9100 9115 9130 9145 9160 9175 9190 9205 9220 9235 9250 9265 9280 9295 9310 9325 9340 9355 9370 9385 9400 9415 9430 9445 9460 9475 9490 9505 9520 9535 9550 9565 9580 9595 9610 9625 9640 9655 9670 9685 9700 9715 9730 9745 9760 9775 9790 9805 9820 9835 9850 9865 9880 9895 9910 9925 9940 9955 9970 9985 10000



may consequently belong to Skanda Gupta, but in the absence of connecting words such a supposition cannot be justifiable. The document is most probably in verse, and the word Chandra in the first line suggests the idea that the Kumára Gupta of the record was the son of Chandra Gupta II. of the Kuhan Pillar. The figure for the year in the last line is perfectly clear, and is indicated, as usual in Gupta records, by three parallel lines, but the letters before and after it are very doubtful, and no reliance can be placed on the date. The letter preceding the 3 may be a 60, and some of the letters after the letter for S'aka may be figures, but I am not certain of their value. As Kumára was the sixth in a direct line from S'ri Gupta, the founder of the Gupta dynasty, it is certain that the date, whether 3 or 63, cannot be of the Gupta era, for according to the Udayagiri and the Sanchi inscriptions Chandra Gupta II. lived from 82 to 93 of that era. It must therefore be either of the reigning sovereign, or of some now unknown era other than that used in the Allahabad column inscription.

The second inscription is even more imperfect than the first, and has no date; but there is no doubt of its being an edict of the Gupta who recorded the Bhitari inscription, or of one of his descendants. General Cunningham imagines it to be a counterpart of the Bhitari record, and says that the portion extant "is letter for letter the same as the opening of the Bhitari pillar inscription." Such, however, is not the case. It is true, the first line has an epithet which occurs in the first line of the Bhitari inscription, and lines 3 to 12 are made up of words whose counterparts are seen in that record. It may also be admitted that Kumára Devi, the wife of Chandra Gupta. I, is named in the 5th line, and the word Gupta occurs in the 10th, which leave no doubt as to the race of the sovereign who recorded the document. But as no specific name is legible, and the words common to the two records are mostly adjectives expressive of royal qualities which are generally attributed to all Hindu sovereigns, their evidence cannot be accepted as conclusive as to the identity of the two records. Were it otherwise, still it would be of no use, for we have positive proof to shew that they are not identical. The second line of the Behar record has a word which does not occur in the first two lines of the Bhitari inscription, and the matter from the 13th line to the end,

if my reading be correct, is new. In the 18th line there is mention made of Bhaṭṭa Guhila Swámin, whose name does not occur in the Bhitari column. The conclusion therefore that I come to is, that the two documents were put up by the same race and very likely by the same king, but on different occasions, and to record different occurrences. There is nothing in the record to justify the positive opinion of General Cunningham that it belongs to Skanda Gupta, son of Kumára Gupta.

*Translation of an Inscription from Aphasar.*

There lived S'rí Kṛishṇa Gupta, a king, whose army was crowded by a thousand tuskers, who was served by men of great learning, whose lineage was noble, and who was firm and ascendant as the mountain peak. His arms, which had overcome the ardour of numberless rivals, were even as those of the lion; for thereby he had pounded the bulging skulls of hosts of maddened elephants of his inveterate enemies.

2. Even as rose the moon from the ocean so from him descended a son, S'rí Hashka Gupta Deva, possessed of many digits, (arts,)\* spotless and free from (the) clouds (of ignorance).

3. He was the holder of the hard-stretched bow which cared not for the fit time of death (for his enemies). He could pour showers of dreadful arrows, and was looked upon with tearful eyes by those who had been deprived of their homes, their wealth and their masters. His glorious success in fierce warfare was as it were recorded in his breast in the form of innumerable scars, as prominently and as indelibly as the perforations of insects in the knots (of trees).

4. His son was S'rí Jivita Gupta, the crowning jewel of kings, who was like the moon in the forest of water lilies represented by the faces of the wives of his murdered opponents.

5. The dreadful fever of his glory forsook not his adversaries, whether they sought shelter in the sea-shore washed by the waves of the water where dwell the pearl shells, and strewn over with stems of plantain trees cast around by the trunks of elephants which roam amidst lofty palms; or on the mountain top cooled by the water flowing from eternal snow.

6. This superhuman act of his—the leap from the shore of the

\* The word in the original is *kalá*, which means both an art as well as the digits of the moon, hence applicable both to man and the moon.



sea where dwells all wealth, to the top of the Himalaya,—in chase of his enemies, is seen by mankind with wonder even to this day; it is like that of the son of Pavana (Hanumāna who spanned the Gulf of Manaar by a single leap).

7. That king gave birth to a son, even as did Hara to the rider of the peacock.\* Forward in battle and of renowned strength, this son was named Kumára Gupta.

8. He, with a view to obtain Lakshmí, assuming the form of Mount Mandára, churned the milky ocean produced by the forces of the moon-like King Sánta Varmá,†—an ocean over which was spread a moving mass of waves (his soldiers) comparable to a line of plantain trees put in motion by a passing wind, and in it were whirlpools formed of rising clouds of dust (raised by the soldiers), while the furious and mighty elephants (of his army) represented sunken rocks.

9. He was firm in truth and valour, and was engaged in the performance of ceremonies for the relief of the needy; he worshipped with the flower of truth. He entered into a fire of dried dung as in a sea.‡

10. Of that king S'rí Dámodara Gupta was the son. Even as Dámodara§ killed the Daityas; so did he destroy his opponents.

11. While gloriously dispersing, at the battle of Maushari, the roaring line of elephants of the fierce army of the western Hunas, he fainted, and selected the nymphs of heaven (as his own, saying) they are "mine," and the pleasant touch of their lotus-like hands revived him.

12. That king gave away in marriage numberless Brahmin daughters of youth and beauty, bedecked with ornaments, and adorned with hundreds of necklaces.

13. S'rí Mahásena Gupta was his most valiant son. In all chivalric assemblies, he obtained the credit for noble heroism.

14. Hermits and their wives, lying on the cool shady banks of the

\* Kártikeya, alias Kumára, god of war.

† The moon rose from the ocean when it was churned by the gods with a view to extract ambrosia from it. Mount Mandára, the backbone of the earth, was on the occasion used as the churning stick.

‡ It is not certain whether the author wishes to imply that the king burnt himself to death, or merely performed the penance called Panchatápá.

§ Yasodá the mother of Krishna, once kept him tied to a churn with a rope round his waist to restrain him from stealing butter; hence the epithet *Dáma*, "a rope" and "*udara*" "belly" or "waist." The exploits of Krishna with the Daityas sent by Káñsa, king of Mathurá, to kill him, are well-known.

Lauhitya, with open beaming eyes, sang in praise of his wide-spreading fame,—that fame which was inscribed by the praises of his victory over S'ri Varmá, and which to this day is adorned by garlands of well blown wild jessamins and water-lilies, as with a necklace of moons.

15. Of him was born S'ri Mádhava Gupta, the highest essence of valour, even as Mádhava was born of Kámadeva. His two feet rested on the greatest heroes.

16. In war he was the foremost among the praiseworthy, and, as the receptacle of goodness and bestower of all he acquired, he was the greatest among the great. He was the family abode of wealth (Lakshmi), truthfulness (Satva), and learning (Saraswati), and the steadfast bridge of virtue. There was none above him to respect, for he, the meritorious, moved foremost among the meritorious on the earth.

17. Like Mádhava (Kṛishṇa) he bore the sign of the thunderbolt on his palm,\* and carried a bow made of horn; while the sabre by his side was for the destruction of his enemies, and the good of his friends. The jewel *Nandaka*.....

(About a dozen letters at the end of the line and over three-fourths of the next line are missing. Three lines then follow naming a Hashka Deva and his son Aditya Sena. Next, there are eleven lines, so full of lacunæ that no connected meaning can be made out of them: then the concluding line of a s'loka): his son, who owned the illimitable earth for his dominion, and was a protector of mankind.

In battle the two arms of the king shone resplendent, having ripped open the orbs of maddened royal elephants; the halo of his fame was lustrous with the glory of his numerous conquered foes; his feet rested on the heads of innumerable kings; the fire of his majesty was vast; fortunate was he, and in warfare pure and of renowned action.†

By that king, who in his attempt to make his noble and most wonderful Glory, which was as white as the light of the autumnal moon, and wide spreading as the earth, dwell with his Fortune,‡ had so irritated her that she, from a feeling of rivalry, went to live for ever

\* An emblem of royalty according to Indian Palmistry.

† The word *idam* at the beginning of this sloka is not construable.

‡ In Sanskrit the words glory, *Kṛtí*, and fortune, *Laksmí*, are in the feminine gender. The poet represents them as the two wives of the king, and then by a pretty conceit makes them quarrel from a feeling of rivalry and separate, Fortune, to live with her lord, and Glory, to go to the farthest limits of the earth.

beyond the bounds of the ocean, was this best of temples caused to be erected for Vishnu.

His mother S'rimatī Mahādevī caused a Maṭha or monastery to be built, and dedicated it, beautiful as a heavenly mansion, to the use of the virtuous. By the Queen S'rī Kona Devī, the beloved wife of the king, a beautiful tank was caused to be excavated. Its water, pure and lustrous, as if it were the picture of the white sea shell or the moon, was drunk by men and hermits—and in its flowing waves sported the jumping alligator and the dancing *timi* fish.

As long as the crescent shall adorn the forehead of Sīva, as long as S'rī shall dwell in the heart of Vishnu, as long as Saraswatī shall abide in the mouth of Brahmā, \* \* \* \* as long as the earth shall rest on the head of the lord of serpents,\* as long as the lightning shall dwell in the womb of clouds, even so long shall king Āditya Sena shed around this spotless glory of his.

The thoroughly virtuous, and intelligent† Sukshma Siva Gaura engraved this eulogium in large† and artistic letters.

*Transcript of the Aphsar Inscription.*

आसीद्वन्निस्सहस्रगाढकठको विद्याधुराध्यासितः  
सदंशस्थिर उन्नतो गिरिरिव श्रीलङ्कागुप्ते नृपः ॥  
द्वारातिमदान्ववारणघटाकुम्भस्थलीः चुन्दता  
यस्यासङ्घुरिपुप्रतापजयिना दोष्णा मृगेन्द्राधितम् ॥ १ ॥  
सकलः कलङ्करहितः क्षततिमिरस्त्रेयधेःशशाङ्क इव ।  
तस्मादुदयादिसुतो देवः श्रोत्रंशुगुप्त इति ॥ २ ॥  
यो योग्याकालहेलावनतददधनुर्भूमिवाणौघपातो  
मूर्तेः खलामिलस्त्रीवसतिविमुखितैरीक्षितः साश्रुपातुम् ॥  
घोराणामाहवानां लिखितमिव जयं श्लाघ्यमाविर्दधानो  
वक्षस्युद्गामशस्त्रव्रणकठिनकिणयन्त्रिलेखाच्छलेन ॥ ३ ॥  
श्रीजीवितगुप्तेभूत् क्षितीशचूडामणिः सुतलस्य ।  
यो द्वप्रवैरौऽनारोमुखनलिनवनैकशिरकरः ॥ ४ ॥  
मुक्तागर्भपयःप्रवाहशिशिरास्तुक्कतलीवन-  
धाम्यदन्तिकरावलूनकदलीकाण्डासु विलासपि ।  
श्रोततस्कारतुषारनिर्भरपयः श्रोतेऽपि शैले स्थिता  
न्यस्येच्चैर्द्विषतो मुमेच न महाघोरः प्रतापज्वरः ॥ ५ ॥  
यस्यातिमानुषं कर्म्म दृश्यते विस्मयाज्जनौघेन ।

\* Alluding to the Paurāṇic legend of the earth resting on the head of a thousand-headed snake.

† Or beautiful, विकट.

‡ वैरि recte.

अद्यापि कोशवर्द्धनतटात् स्तुतं पवनजस्येव ॥ ६ ॥  
 प्रख्यातशक्तिमाजिषु पुरःसरं श्रीकुमारगुप्तमिति ।  
 अजनयदेकं स नृपो हर इव शिखिवाहनं तनयम् ॥ ७ ॥  
 उत्सर्पद्वातहेलाचलितकदलिकावोचिमालावितानः  
 प्रोद्यद्भूलौजलौघभ्रमितागुरुमहामत्तमातङ्गशैलः ।  
 भीमः श्रीशान्तवर्मक्षितिपतिशशिनः सैन्यदुग्धादसिन्धुः  
 लक्ष्मौसमप्राप्तिहेतुः सपदि विमथितो मन्दरौभूय येन ॥ ८ ॥  
 शौर्यसत्यव्रतधरो यः प्रयागगताधने ।  
 अभ्यसौव करीषाग्नौ मग्नः सत्युष्पूजितः ॥ ९ ॥  
 श्रीदामोदरगुप्तोभूतनयस्तस्य भूपतः ।  
 येन दामोदरेणैव दैत्या इव हता द्विषः ॥ १० ॥  
 यो मौषरेः समितिषूद्धतर्हणसैन्यं  
 वल्गुद्वटां विघटयन्नुत्वारणानाम् ।  
 सम्मूर्च्छितः सुरबधूर्वरयन्ममेति  
 तत्पाणिपङ्कजमुखस्यर्शविबुद्धः\* ॥ ११ ॥  
 गुणवद्द्विजकन्यानां नानालङ्कारयौवनवतीनाम् ।  
 परिणयितवान् स भूपः शतं निहृष्टाग्रहाराणाम् ॥ १२ ॥  
 श्रीमहासेनगुप्तोभूतस्त्राङ्गीराग्रणीः सुतः ।  
 सर्ववीरसमाजेषु लेभे यो धुरिवीरताम् ॥ १३ ॥  
 श्रीमत्सुस्थितवन्मधुद्विजयस्त्राघापदाङ्गं मुञ्ज-  
 र्यस्याद्यापि विबुद्धकुन्दकुमुदाक्षिप्तेन्दुदामायितम् ।  
 लौहित्यस्य तटेपु शीतलतलेषूत्फूलनेत्रोद्गमै-  
 ष्कायासुप्रविबुद्धसिद्धमिथुनैः स्कीर्तं यशो गीयते ॥ १४ ॥  
 वसुदेवादिव तस्माच्चूरैस्सर्व्वत उच्चैर्दत्तचरणशुभः ।  
 श्रीमाधवगुप्तोभून्माधव इव विक्रमैकरसः ॥ १५ ॥  
 धत्ते सद्भिरनुसृतां धुरि रणे स्त्राघावतामग्रणीः  
 सौजन्यस्य निधानसर्व्वेनिचयत्यागे धुराणां धुरम् ।  
 लक्ष्मौसत्वसरस्वतीं कुलगृहं धर्मस्य सेतुर्दृढः  
 पूज्यो नास्ति स भूतले गुणगणैरग्रे सरः सद्गुणः ॥ १६ ॥  
 वज्रः पाणितलेन सोऽप्युदवहत्तस्यापि शार्ङ्गं धनु-  
 र्नाशायसुहृदां सुखाय सुहृदां तस्याप्यसिर्नन्दकः ।

प्राप्ते विद्विषतां

\* \* \* \* हरिमंसा घन्याः प्रणेमूर्जनाः ॥ अनौम \* \* \* या विनिहता बलिना-  
 द्विपन्तः । कृत्वा नमस्कृत्यपुरभिद्य वधाय वीरः । श्रीहृष्कदेव निजसात्तमसा प्रमादे  
 श्रीमान् वरेन्द्रदलिनोरिकरीन्द्रकुम्भमुत्तारजः ।

पटलपांशुलमण्डलायः । आदित्यसेन इति तत्तनयः वितीशचूडामणिर्यउदयादि  
 \* \* \* मागतमरिर्व्वसेत्यमात्रं यशः ॥ स्त्राघं सर्वधनुशतां पुर इति स्त्राघां परां  
 विधत्ते । आशीर्वादपरं पराचिस

\* A letter wanting to complete the measure.



दमाया समः ॥ आदौ खेदच्छलेन ध्वजपटशिखाया मार्जतोदानपङ्कं खङ्गं क्षुणेन-  
सुतशकलसि कलितं न्यस्य Here several lines missing.

सत्तमातङ्गघातं तद्गन्धाकृष्टसर्पद्वहलपरिमलभान्तमत्तलजालम् । आवद्वभौम-  
विकटधुकुटीकटोसिं

\* \* \* वल्लभत्यवर्गगोष्ठौषु पेशलतया परिहासशीलः । सत्यभर्तृव्रता यस्य मुखोप-  
वनतोपमा ॥ परिहासाय प \* \* \* भिन्नः सकलरिपुबलध्वंसहेतुर्गरीयान्निखि-  
शात्खातघातश्रमजनितजतोप्यूर्जितस्वप्रतापः । युद्धे सत्तेभकुम्भस्थल

\* \* \* पुत्रस्तस्यामितवसुमतीमण्डलो लोकपालः ॥ आजौ सत्तमजन्मद्रकुम्भदलन-  
स्तीतस्फुरद्दोर्धुगो ध्वलानेकरिपुप्रभावविलसत्प्रख्यातां यशोमण्डलम् । न्यस्तशेष-  
नरेन्द्रमौलिचरणस्कारप्रतापानलो लक्ष्मीवान् समराभिमानबिसलप्रख्यातकीर्ति-  
र्द्विपः ॥ येनेदं शरदिन्दुविम्बधवला प्रख्यातभूमण्डली लक्ष्मीसङ्गमकाङ्क्षया  
सुमहती कीर्तिश्चिरं कोपिता । याता सागरपारमद्भुततमा सापान्यवैरादहो  
तेनेदं भवनेत्तमं क्षितिभुजा विष्णोः कृते कारितम् ॥ तज्जनन्या महादेव्या श्री-  
मत्याकारिता मठः । धार्मिकेभ्यः स्वयं दत्तः सुरलोकगृहोपमः ॥ शङ्खेन्द्रप्रतिम-  
प्रभाप्रतिसमस्फुरस्फुरच्छैकरं । नक्रक्रान्तिचलत्तरङ्गविलसत्प्रक्षिप्तव्यत्तिमि । रा-  
ज्राखानितमद्भुतं सुतपसा पेपीयमानं जनैस्सस्यैव प्रियभार्यया नरपतेः श्रीकोणदेव्या  
सरः ॥ यावच्चन्द्रकला हरस्य शिरसि श्रीशार्ङ्गिणोवक्षसि । ब्रह्मास्ये च सरस्वती कृत  
दक्षभूर्भुजगाधिपस्य च तडित्याबद्हनस्योदरे तावत्कीर्त्तिमहा-  
तनेति धवलामादित्यसेनो नृपः ॥ सूक्ष्मशिवेन गौरेन\* प्रशस्तिर्विकटाचरा ।  
न्यस्या गुणमिता सम्यग्धार्मिकेण सुधीमता ॥

*Tentative Reading of the Behar Inscription, No. 1.*

- (१) इति चन्द्र + न्द्रानुजत + धन्यो(?) गुणरत्नद्वः
- (२) ध्यपिशुनभुविखांसेन यः ख्यातः स्वर्किंकु
- (३) सवयस्यो गूढविक्रमेण कुमारगुप्ते
- (४) एतस्य देवस्य हि ह्यथकथैः सदादृग्मेभ्यो सि
- (५) चीकरदेवनिंकेतन सदंशे त्रिवंशोपम्यः
- (६) —हं सोढस्तम्भवरोच्छेयप्रभासे त्रिमण्ड
- (७) वृक्षाणां कुसुमभरानतायसुभयकदम्बस्तवक
- (८) भट्टार्थायाभातिगृहं नवाभनिर्म्माकनिर्म्मल
- (९) अनुप्रधानैर्भुविमन्त्रिभिश्च दाकात्ससु +
- (१०) भुजोच्छायमेव चक्रे भट्टार्थादिः
- (११) गुप्तवटे करम्भनिपतिताम्बकटकः कटः
- (१२) सेतुः स्वकर्तुर्यज्ञस्तुहिदं सुकुतं भजतु तत्रै
- (१३) कायद्वारे सन्साने ३ सकनुनेभिर्नोप



- (१) + पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य  
 (२) + नकसयस्य कृतान्तः  
 (३) भद्रश्वमेधा हर्तुः  
 (४) केचपौत्रस्य महाराजा  
 (५) + देव्यां कुमारदेव्यमुत्पन्नस्य  
 (६) + तत्परिगृहीतो महादेव्यां  
 (७) मभागवतो महाराजा  
 (८) + महादेव्या प्रः भवदेव्या  
 (९) + पुत्रः तत्पादानुद्धातः  
 (१०) — — स रु गुप्तः  
 (११) + + : परमभागवंतो  
 (१२) + + + भाग्यहे काजपरकुशले  
 (१३) + + य निर्विश्रामक्षेत्र  
 (१४) छ + + + उपरिकुमारामात्य  
 (१५) द्विकुलवणिकपारिभारिक  
 (१६) ग्रहारिकशैलिकगौल्लिकसन्धेस्य  
 (१७) वासकादीनन्दादिदप्रासादोपजीविनः  
 (१८) तस्मात् विज्ञापितोस्मि मम पितामहेन  
 (१९) — भट्ट गुहिलस्वामिना भट्टार्यिका  
 (२०) पते बान्धवो कोपतौ मोकाय

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LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The first edition of the Institutes of Manu, with the Comment of Kullúka, was brought out by the Serampore Missionaries nearly forty years ago. But as it was printed in the Nágari characters, the natives of Bengal could make no use of it, and a Bengali edition was brought out, in the *puthí* form, by Bábu Bhabání-charaṇa Bandya, in the year 1832, A. D. Both these have been out of print for some time, and Professor Bharatachandra Ćiromaṇi has done a service to the public

by publishing a new edition of the work, together with a Bengali translation. It will be welcome to a large class of readers. It has been very carefully printed, but, as usual with native publications, it has not been edited.

Pandita Lálamohana Bhattáchárjya has published a new edition of the Dhátupátha or collection of Sanskrit Roots by Vopadeva, together with a commentary. The work is of use as a guide to persons engaged in the study of the Sanskrit Grammar called the *Mugdhabodha*, and will, we believe, be used as a class-book in the Sanskrit College of Calcutta.

Bábu Prasanna Kumár Tagore, C. S. I., has of late published several Sanskrit works for gratuitous distribution. The last is a treatise, by a Pandita of Nuddea, on Civil Procedure according to Hindu law. It is entitled *Vádiviváda-Bhanjana*, and contains a number of extracts from the old Smritis on the course which a case should follow, from its institution to the final decree, in the court of a Hindu Rájá. The chapter on the law of evidence is particularly interesting. The work is printed in the Bengali character, and has a Bengali translation attached to it.

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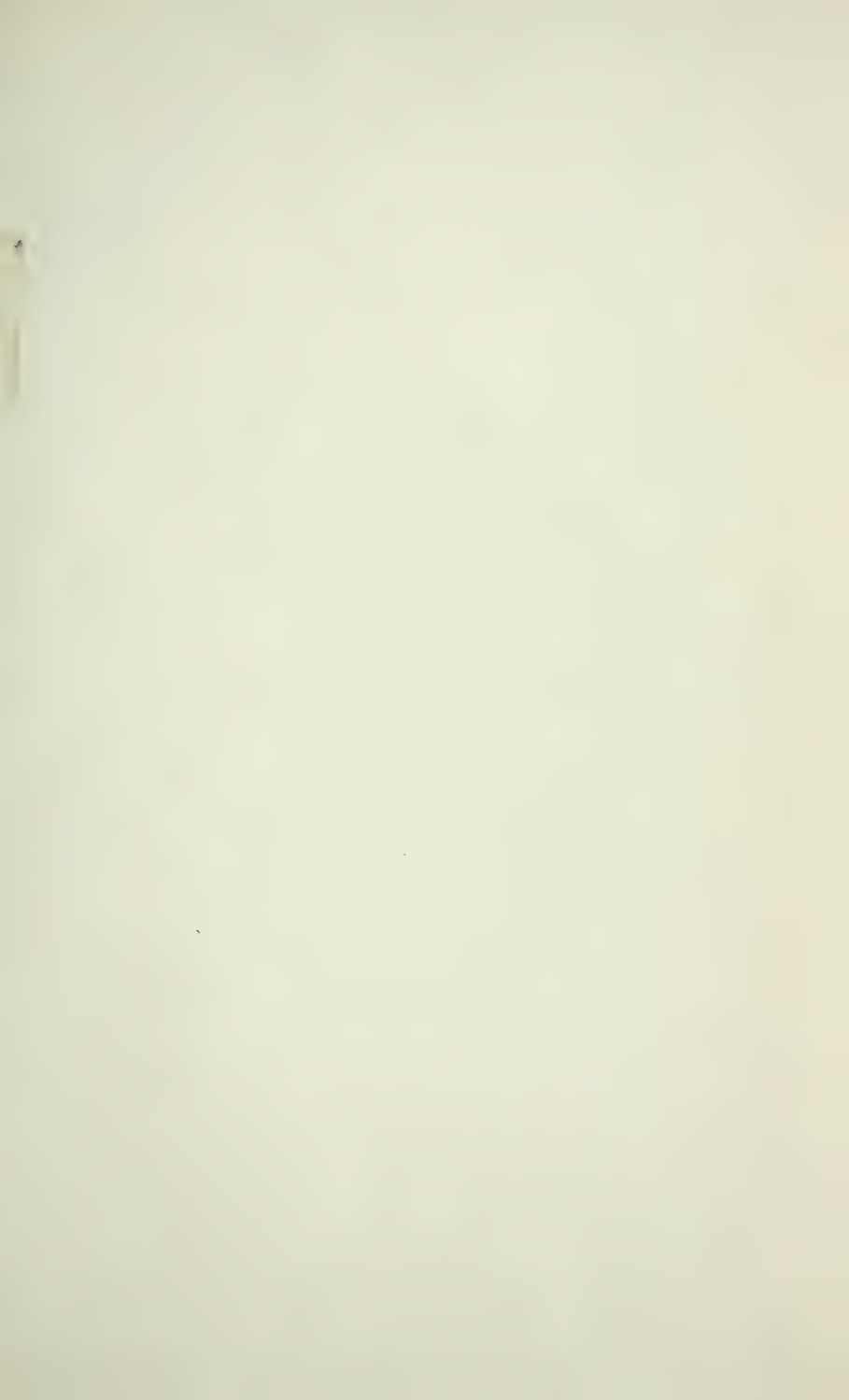
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